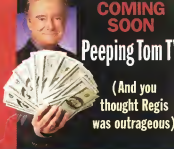


# Maclean's

Canada's

Weekly Newsmagazine

April 10, 2000 [www.macleans.ca](http://www.macleans.ca)



## FREEING THE SLAVES OF SUDAN



**Canada's Jane Roy spends her vacations buying Africans out of bondage  
Why other relief agencies disapprove**

**Talisman: A Canadian oil company at the centre of a vicious civil war**

By Barry Came

\$4.50





## Editor

## Maclean's and a world of change

In recent weeks, we have been introducing changes in the context of *Maclean's*, the second phase in a renewal of the magazine launched last year with a major redesign. The latest changes flowed out of months of internal staff discussion and debate and an extensive consultation with readers.

The main shift has been the emphasis we are putting on material you don't see anywhere else: Christopher Young's haunting personal essay about his descent into Alzheimer's disease in the March 15 issue; the March 27 cover in which three Canadian fighter pilots who flew NATO missions over Kosovo told their stories for the first time; and this week's cover aspect by our London-based Bureau Chief Barry Cane on his travel through war-torn Sudan with Canadians trying to end the slave trade.

We also have introduced several new sections: The March 20 feature on free Internet music was the first cover story by newly appointed technology reporter Chris Wood, who will write regularly on the beat from his base in Vancouver. The new Tech section, overseen by Assistant Managing Editor Benoit

Woodward, will look regularly at such subjects as the Internet, e-commerce, converging media and digital entertainment. A weekly companion called Tech Explorer features new devices and big ideas. Woodward's responsibilities also include business, economy and money sections, plus a new beat: public policy and business covered by National Correspondent Mary Jurgens.

One of the most dramatic changes is the new front section called *Overture*, overseen by National Affairs Columnist Anthony Wilson-Saunders. In addition to his columns, which has moved to weekly frequency, Wilson-Saunders pensides over an eclectic mix of items ranging from insider takes on the power structure to personal essays from readers. The tone could not be described better than by the words of one reader in a recent letter: "irreverent, funny, and slightly sarcastic in that oh-so-Canadian way."

This week's cover package also marks the formal launch of a new section, Canada and the World, under Assistant Managing Editor Peter Koppleman. It recognizes that what happens in Hong

Kong or on Wall Street can have as much impact on our readers as events in Ottawa and Calgary.

The huge project for which *Maclean's* is best known, from university readings, July 1 specials, the Honour Roll, year-end poll and biennial health reports, of course, will continue. So will our commitment to investigative journalism, which last year produced several awards, and the short news summaries favoured by many readers.

As always, readers will get the first say. With several rates that would be the envy of any publication, *Maclean's* is blessed with a loyal following of 500,000 subscribers. Last year, we also were No. 1 in advertising revenue among all Canadian magazines. But we know we cannot take anything for granted. That is why we will continue to change, as we have since our founding in 1905.

Robert Lewis

sepm@postmedia.ca or to comment  
on From the Editor

## Newsroom Notes

## A brutish war

More than 40 years of civil war have taken their toll in southern Sudan, as *Maclean's* European Bureau Chief Barry Cane discovered during a visit to the region for this week's cover story (page 20). For 10 days, he lived out of a small tent and backpack, surviving on canned food, tinned biscuits and, as he remarks, "the occasional roasted goat." He was able to delve into a

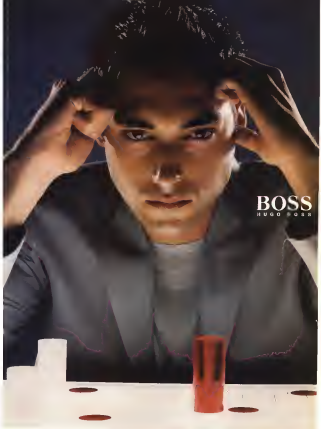


Cane in Sudan, the end of fingers

knotty question for Canadian policymakers: "The issue is the widening involvement of Canadian oil companies, Talisman Energy Inc. in particular, in

the oldest, nastiest civil war in Africa."

Sudan's civil war is especially heinous in that it has given new life to an old African curse, the slave trade. Cane was able to observe firsthand the efforts of a remarkable couple from London, Ont., Glen Pearson and Jane Rog, who travel to southern Sudan about once a year on a controversial money mission—buying slaves (for roughly \$50 a person) and setting them free. "It is a moving experience to watch them being freed," Cane says. "But it is jarring to realize that an evil, root of us thought had long gone still lingers."





spend all those precious Canadian tax dollars that would normally go to support important things like a failing medicare system, their fountain being built in Shewanigan country of your responsible prime minister and his pork-barrel politics, and Billingsgate, and channel them into something really significant like, umm, the military, so defend the border against us. But wait, then you'd be just like us! We wouldn't have to invade you, you could become our son-in-law, biggest mate. Maybe that's jumping the proverbial gun a little. How about the larger US territory?

Kate Minkus, Windsorville, PE

## 'Selective outrage'

I might sympathize with Barbara Amiel's complaint about being labelled a right-wing extremist—people get labelled so easily these days—even if not for the issues she reveals so blatantly ("On being 'right wing,'" March 20). "Denying the communist holocaust," she claims in the very column where she disdains her extremists, "will get you a chair at any Moscow symposium." Wow! Here's another little-known truth from

the same source: "The reason I am called right wing today is only because the spirit of our times is left wing and most of our diets including the media are imbued with this spirit." Where is the evidence for this "spirit of our times," and which diets are so afflicted? The business diets in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver? The political elites of Ontario, Alberta, Ottawa? Those who own and run Canada's two national newspapers? Perhaps Amiel lives in some other time, or place.

Ivor Shapiro, Toronto

It has long been recognized that, as Barbara Amiel illustrates, the selective outrage and persecution that comes has always been pro-Communist and anti everything else. I well understand why she writes, and why she has always been attacked. Keep on tracking, Barbara.

Edward Kennedy, Harrisville, Ont

## Leading example

Fotheringham's example of the best newspaper kind of all time was a real grabber! Ah, so he is a media magazine, March 27. Here's another, which introduces the reader to the real story of the suicide of a fastidious young woman: "Always a shy girl, Penny hanged herself in the cold yesterday." Peter Spiller, Pennington, Ont

## Pay rates, tax rates

Talk about diametrically opposed. First, I read the letter from Dennis Fodoros ("Smoke and mirrors," The Mail, March 27) and then I read "Why I stay ... for aye," by James Cherry ("Over to You," March 27), who thanked them an offer to move to the United States. My wife and I came to this country from England in 1969, after being so-called by the government to become teachers. We signed up for two years, and here we are, 32 years later, Canadian citizens, living in this magnificent country. We need more people like Mr. Cherry than Mr. Fodoros. If you need a lunch packing your suitcase, Dennis, let us know. But you don't know what you are missing.

David and Christine Pike, Atglen, Minn.

So, computer programmer Dennis Fodoros plans to dump his brain to the United States when his "salary from \$70,000." While he's quibbling about a few per cent in tax, he could be earning at least two or three times that \$70,000 if he moved to the Bay area of California. As a high-tech worker who chose to move from the United Kingdom to Canada, I strongly feel that the issue before Canadians who aren't happy with their take-home pay will one day be pay rates. By the way, I'm saying John Weinberg, Victoria



## Anthony Wilson-Smith

# New media, same old rules

In Cold War days, an apocalyptic yam was used to illustrate the divide between East and West. Two fine-time storylines based places—one in Moscow, one in Paris—heading in the direction of each other. Each stop in Warsaw and Leningrad. The Moscow makes Wilson's old churches and pre-war buildings, compare them with the drabness of his home town, and autumn repeatedly (and mistakenly). "So this is Paris." The Parisian sees the great majority of buildings constructed in grey, drab Soviet-style, and mistakes dramatically. "So this is Moscow."

Everyone's view of reality is affected by their circumstances. In this case, as two men looked at an identical view, one was delighted, the other disgusted—and both jumped to a wrong conclusion. Those days, you could say the same about the state of journalism. Depending who you listen to, the business is either (a) in an incredible death spiral, close to extinction by megaprograms, disarming ethics and a dying print medium, or (b) entering a golden age of information democracy, with high-quality information available in unprecedented amounts across the Net. Online magazines Sales and News present themselves—and their funding—as a home to the land of eternal discussion, you'll find it, say, Anisette, Erisman and Churchill all dropped by for a post. Sales editor David Talbot has described his product as an "innovative amalgam of books, arts and ideas to advance the cause of civic discourse." Sales editor Michael Kinsley describes his magazine as a mix of "Time, The Economist and The New Yorker." If he'll run in Playboy and People, he could lay claim to the dominant print trends of the last half century.

Perhaps that bluster explains why so many journalists in traditional media baffle the Net so much. Or perhaps it's the laziness and lethargy, consider the plenitude of pieces from print journalists nervously scanning everyone—starting with ourselves—that the medium will arrive. As British journalist Andrew Davies writes, unoriginally, in the new book *Seven of the Best Journalism in Journalism*, "The good news is that newspapers will survive the Internet. People will still read them and someone develops a screen that you can crumple up and put in a pocket, read in the bath or wrap chips in." Perhaps, unless they're too busy picking up messages on wireless phone, checking stock prices on their pages, or reading online books with handheld computers.

There's also the Evil Media Baron theory, according to which the Net was intended so that a half-dozen megacorporations could trick consumers into buying only products produced by their companies. Right now, these people are busy being AOL/Time Warner. In a recent *Canadian Journalism Review*, writer Ken Layton wrote that a speech by Jonathan Sachs, gen-

eral manager of America Online, amounted to this message: "Thanks for empowering yourself by visiting this journalism site, which aims to bring you the best in conference and tools to help you make informed purchasing decisions and to get important news about our corporate family of entertainment. Click here to buy some crap!"

Layne and others aren't necessarily wrong in fearing that the Net will be so abused—but we've heard it all before, every time a new medium popped up. Radio began first as an immediate would come at the expense of accuracy. Television brought cities that beauty was winning over brains. Now, the TV guys fear the Net means the profits will run out again, while our print biz still means everyone else is profitable. For as long as journalism has existed, editors have felt pressure from advertisers, ad agencies and sometimes even their own publishers to consider story selection with an eye to pleasing rich clients. There's a pleasing fiction that independent owners are more honest to buying than conglomerates, but you can argue the reverse is true. With a small news outlet, a threat by a big client to pull ads could be the difference between profit and bankruptcy. A muscular conglomerate isn't likely to be intimidated—although it can be much more intimidating to ordinary readers or viewers.

Another complaint about the Net is that too much of the information it offers is unreliable. The proof of this claim: Journalist Matt Drudge and his associates got it OK to report on inaccurate rumours so long as it reports the rumour accurately. Well, no, but he's not the first to behave that way—that's why we have supermarket tabs, among other things. And some parts of the print medium regularly give forth with whoppers. A recent cover line in *The Weekly Newsmag*, a magazine for middle-aged housewives, asked if a list was close Canada's "lucky economy." Economists—and several recent reports by the big banks—all agree we're in one of the most sustained economic boom cycles in history. That headline thus over time, it says, they'd need to read further.

There's a widespread notion that media magnates tilt reporters what to write. That's seldom true—but it's a true that some reporters with a keen eye for career advancement consider their bosses' views very carefully, and take pains to faithfully reflect them. The rivalry between Old and New Media is another reason to weigh the reliability of the purveyor of information as carefully as the news itself. It's like Ronald Reagan's lie to Mikhail Gorbachev about the need for verification when they signed a nuclear disarmament treaty. "Trust," said Reagan, "but verify." And it's also like that Cold War story things never looked so beautiful—or ugly—depending on where you come from.

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# Overture

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Edited by Anthony Wilson-Saunders  
With Sheila Denzil

## Over and Under Achievers

### They all scream at ice cream's cold war

Anglo go home; Celvive won't stay home; ice cream's unhappy home.

◆ **Louise Beaudoin:** Quebec language supreme says too much English spoken in — France. Downside for anglos would be easier to understand what Poutine cabbies are saying to us!

◆ **Deported, disgraced ex-Quebec anglic:** Score a moral victory as Jacques Parizeau says Bagnon-Vidéon merger would ensure to "Toronto buying Montreal." But no thanks; who needs all these porlains?

◆ **Ben & Jerry:** Counterintuitive billions are fed over whether to let ice-cream company to capitalize naming dog corporation Unleaver. Will that be one scoop or two of Cashew Crunch?

◆ **Molson Canadian:** New beer ad seems big



Hubbard René Angélil, Celvive caught with funny, emotional pitch to patriotism. Reminds us of key difference with U.S.A.: we're the Redheads.

◆ **Ordinary Canadians:** Clip and show to your bank manager new study says out average worth is \$96,800. Sassy how many one-fourth does that buy?

◆ **Celine Dion:** Singer who "retired" from public eye plays in celeb golf tournament, pumps in pool with winner, given transportation concert, buses interview to show she's out program, and then gives interview to say how much she likes privacy. Am I?

## Over Again

### Tongue untied

British actor Sean Bean (*Gladiator*) first novel. *The Interpreter* (*McArthur & Co.*) is based partly on her former work as an interpreter. *Gladiator*, 37, is fluent in seven languages. She described to *Associated Editor* Brian Beattie her experience as the profession.

I believe languages are born, not made. At seven months, I understood my parents by repeating their words to them. Later, I memorized through international interpreting would be glamorous. My first job as a dental office interpreter ended that notion. I was up the whole previous night assisting the French, German and Indian for gum disease and ulcers, and spent the next day interpreting the emergency at breakfast speed.

Interpreters arrive to support their own thoughts. You can't think too much or you affect the speaker's meaning. I spent two days underground with French and British engineers during the Channel Tunnel project, screaming over the noise about spoke lengths and wheel sizes. I hope thinking that if I got something wrong, a train would crash.

But you can't stop thinking. The greatest danger is the silent booth trap. One time, a French delegate criticized a speech by saying "il meuble à pleurer" — a phrase that means "he's lost it." A colleague pointed the meaning with a hand translation. "He's walking beside his diaper."

## Once Over

### Getting rich on old kitsch

#### Wealth by the yard

A yard sale, says *Toronto author* and expert R.J. Gallivan, "is the last frontier to find a bargain." In the book *The New Life's Guide to Buying, Selling, and Trading Collectibles*, Gallivan describes a few items he'll be watching for this year (prices in U.S. dollars):

**Artisanal Rincoroda:** "These are animal figurines made in Uruguay. I found one called *Gopetito* for \$7; it makes an Internet account for \$250. If you use it as a yard sale, you'd pay a dollar, and think you paid too much."

**My Little Pony:** "These toy ponies usually sell for \$30, but one named *Rapunzel* is selling for \$150 to \$175."

**Fishing lures:** "There's a big market for antique fishing lures. One recently sold for \$2,425."

**Hot Wheels:** "The most valuable



For to old toys: Beaver Babes, too

are only ones named *Red Lion*, with no adverb on the case. A vintage *Red Lion* Caneva recently sold for \$235."

**Board Games:** "The rise of electronic video games has made board games hot. Recently a 1982 *Slade* board game sold for \$91."

**Beaver Horses:** "Plastic toy horses I bought nine at a yard sale for \$60 (and would claim over the Internet for \$20)."

**Books:** "Look for books on animals—the more specialized the better. A book on moose could easily be made for \$20 to \$30."

**Warning:** "Don't buy *Beanie Babies* that frenzy a one."

## Overbites

I am pleased to report that in 1998 the prime minister of Finland (Pauvo Lipponen) took advantage of his right to parental leave. I, for one, am promoting the widespread adoption of this fine example.

—Chris Blair, wife of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who is expecting the couple's fourth child in May

"I haven't. I know I should have and I'm sure I will. I'll decide in the next few weeks."

—Blair, asked whether he has decided what to do

—Mauritius, says *The Associated Press*: "Under a law approved by the cabinet of [German Chancellor] Gerhard Schröder, both parents can take up to three years off when they have a child. Only 1.5 per cent of those taking leave in the past have been men."

"Fishers [as a] percentage of all parents on leave has fluctuated between 3 and 4 per cent annually since 1991."

—1998 Statistics Canada report



## Overheard

### Married, you say?

Annex **William Ronald** founded the group *Parsons Eleven* in 1953, joined C.B.C. Radio's *At 8* (1969 to 1972), and in the 1980s painted abstract portraits of prime ministers. Two years after his death at 71, Ronald will command attention. In *Robert Bellman's* new biography, *The Theatre of the Self*, Ronald's second wife, Alana, appears only in a footnote—accused by another woman of beating Ronald. "It's not just that the claim is untrue," says

the Montreal artist and ballet teacher who lived with Ronald from 1984 to 1994 "it's being dismissed from Bill's life, and from art history."

Bellman, associate dean of arts and education at Okanagan University College in Kelowna, B.C., is apologetic, saying "It's rather stupid." He says he "got the impression," from Ronald and Helen, his first wife, that Alana couldn't be found. Now, he writes that in future, another biographer "will decide the relationship with her was key to the last decade of Ronald's work."

Brian Beattie



Ronald

## NOTE 2-1000

When it comes to vacation time, most Canadians are spending money at home—joined by big-spending tourists from abroad. Tourist spending nationally was 7.8 per cent higher in the last quarter of 1999 than the same period the previous year. Canadians spent 8.1 per cent more, non-resident spending rose 7.1 per cent for a total of about \$2.5 billion. The biggest cause of higher non-resident spending is a rebound in tourism from the Asia-Pacific region: the number of

travellers is up 13.4 per cent. All of that generated a total of \$26,600 full- and part-time jobs in the fourth quarter last year.

### Growth in Tourism Demand



Source: Statistics Canada

## English only... s'il vous plaît

Last month, politically savvy cyber-pennmen put out on New Brunswick's Anglo Society. The organization "dedicated to the promotion and protection of the English language" opposes bilingualism in New Brunswick. Their Web site, which contains members' names and the group's beliefs, was hacked last month—in a particularly insensitive fashion. The cyber-intruders translated the contents of the Web site into French, then locked access to the site, preventing Anglo members from changing it back. *Alan Denzil*

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## Overture

### PASSAGES

**Hired:** Journalist and broadcaster **Patricia Walker**, 46, signed a contract with CTV to host and produce television shows through her production company The Windows.



Seek native, who began her broadcast career with CTV in 1981, will inaugurate a show on its new Talk TV network next fall, and have some specials for the main network. Walker has had a CBC show for the last five years. She also hosts *Morison* TV on CTV.

**Settled:** Newspaper magazine **Conrad Black** dropped his libel suit against Britain's ambassador to Germany, **Sir Paul Lewis**, after Lewis issued a public apology. The British Foreign Office agreed to pay Black's legal costs. Black sued Lewis for comments made in the German newspaper *Die Welt* in which he said Black, who holds dual British and Canadian citizenship, was an anti-European foreigner, and added that his newspapers, including *The Daily Telegraph*, did not report European affairs in an objective manner. Lewis said that his interpretation with the newspaper was misunderstood.

**Died:** *The Joy of Sex* author **Alan Watts**, 80, was also a novelist, poet, grammarian and nuclear disarmament campaigner. Although he liked to emphasize all his achievements, it was his 1972 sex manual, with illustrations and straightforward language that brought him fame—selling about 12 million copies. Sex educator **Sue Johnson** referred to him as the "inventor of the sexual revolution." He had suffered numerous strokes while nursing care at a nursing home in Oxfordshire, England.

**Died:** Professional bull rider **Glen Keady**, 30, was thrown from **Bronze Lady**—the sport's most dangerous bull—in Albuquerque, N.M., during a rodeo

The bull crippled the Calgary, Alta., rider's chest and abdomen and, though Keady walked away from the incident, he died at the hospital of internal injuries. Keady, ranked ninth in the world, had won an Canadian bull-riding title and one North American title. He had considered retiring before the start of this season. "He died doing what he loved," said his brother Justin.

**Died:** Boston-born dancer, writer and actor **Levin Lefebvre** moved to Canada in 1973 to work on the television show *Julie Seagun*, which was shot in Toronto. He stayed because of his respect for the National Film Board and the freedom a gave filmmakers. From 1981 to 1983 Lefebvre served as president of the Directors Guild of Canada. During the screening of a movie in which he had a role, he died of a heart attack, at age 67, at the National Film Board in Toronto.

**Awarded:** Author **Peter Oliva**, 35, who owns a Calgary bookstore, won the **Rogers "Wheat" Trust Award for Fiction** for his second novel, *The City of Silts*. The inaugural **Peter Oliva Trust Award for Non-Fiction** went to University of Toronto history professor **Medlin Ekstein**, 56, for his book *Wilding: Star Daylight: A Story of Eastern Europe, World War II and the Heart of Our Country*. Both winners received \$10,000 as a ceremony which included a keynote address by **Margaret Atwood**.

**Fired:** The New York Rangers let go president and general manager **Neil Smith** and head coach **John MacInnes**. The team has struggled since 1994 Stanley Cup win. Retired Ranger **Wayne Gretzky** denied rumors that he was involved in choosing successors. No replacements have been named.

**Died:** American-born folk singer **Ed McCurdy**, 81, moved to the Maritimes in the 1940s. He fronted the 1950s folk boom on his CBC Radio show in 1966. A fixture at the Mariposa Folk Festival, he believed that folk singers didn't expect big success. McCurdy died of heart failure at a Halifax hospital.

## Tips for a Better Healthstyle

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### Healthy Eating Tips

**1** Whether you are a vegetarian or not you should include items such as beans, chick-peas, etc., in your diet 2 to 3 times a week. They are packed with good things such as B-vitamins, calcium, iron and fibre.

**2** The advice of many nutrition experts is to eat fish 2 to 3 times a week. Eating fish has been associated with a reduced risk of heart attacks. And yes, cooked tuna and salmon packed in water count as servings.

**3** Main sources of vitamin E are high in fat (i.e. peanuts, sunflower seeds, almonds and vegetable oils) include these in your diet but do so in moderation.

**4** In the cooking process, heat and water destroy some of the vitamin C and beta-carotene so eat at least some of your produce raw. To minimize nutrient losses, steam or microwave cooking are the best methods.



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Over to You



Kevin Newman

## Is Bob really your uncle?

After six years of living and working in the United States, I've become accustomed to "the look." It's that blankness in the eyes, that frozen smile and the awkward pause that follows after I've said something Canadian.

I don't mean the way we pronounce certain words. Americans can figure out what we're trying to say when we put the emphasis on the first syllable in words such as "ma-dole" and "pro-creed," or on the last syllable in words such as "min-ute." I don't even mean the ubiquitous "out and about," which Americans insist we pronounce as "oot and a-bout." We don't, but it took an American speech coach to explain the difference. We say "own and a-bout," they say "ah-own and a-bout." And "White Holes," a particularly important word for a Canadian-born neophyte to nail down if he wants any credibility in America. But what I didn't expect to discover was that there are uniquely Canadian phrases that baffle our American cousins. A colleague and I were discussing the lack of an employee one day when I suggested the person in question "laid himself out for his butt."

"Is that a good thing?" the colleague asked.

"Of course."

"Doesn't sound like it."

Stop and think about it. He's right.

Then there's the time I was in-car explaining that it's a relatively easy thing to change a car tire. "Take the bolts off, remove the tire, put on a new one, tighten the bolts, and Bob's your uncle."

"What's my uncle?" my co-host asked.

"I don't know."

"You said Bob was my uncle."

"I mean, 'Then you're done'."

"But that got to do with my uncle?"

I paused and stared blankly.

I've used that expression less as my tenure in "The States" (another term they

don't use) has progressed. At first, I was baffled when people asked to get together at "quarter of 5" or "quarter of 15 before the hour." On my first Christmas here, a colleague asked how I spent my weekend.

"It was awful. I must have stood in more lines than anything else."

She looked at me, this time with eyes a little larger than normal.

"How many lines were you in?" she asked, startled.

"Oh, six or seven."

After a few perplexed seconds, she seemed relieved: "Oh, you mean lines?"

"I do!"

"For a 'lineup' is what you're in if the police are pandering you before a witness at the station."

I made note of that one.

There have been other subtle discoveries. "BMX" is a noun here, not a verb. My children carry "backpacks," not "knapsacks." We go "shopping," not "shoping." My wife carries a "pocketbook," instead of a "purse." Forget about asking for a "servette"; a "cupola" will have to do.

Or "That race here moves like snail." Not one to be proud of. Say you "forgot to clear the snow tonight" and they wonder what needed clearing; the proper word is "gutter." The computer spell-check keeps telling me "man's trough" doesn't exist. In fact, of course, in a country of 30 million people whose unique words and phrases aren't recognized by word processors. You can't choose "Canadian English," just British or American.

Then again, not that where we've always found ourselves. Between two cities—with just enough bilinguals in place to call our own.

Kevin Newman is a reporter/producer with ABC News. Guest columns may be sent to newsm@earthlink.net or faxed to (416) 596-7730. We cannot respond to all queries.



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# Money Matters

A series of scandals have focused Ottawa's attention on how Canada's natives serve as handling their finances

By John DeMont in Ekalaka

**Wearing green** tuck pants, a black T-shirt and shiny black dress shoes, Allison Bernard leans forward on his sofa. He gestures around the living room of his old wooden bungalow, at the stuffed bear in the corner and the nature mosaic on the wall. Then he points towards the kitchen where his wife, Freda, and two of their eight children sit sipping tea. "Outside of being a chief," the 39-year-old leader of the Ekalaka First Nation band says, "I'm just an ordinary guy." That may be the case—but few ordinary guys have a First



Indian Affairs Minister Naht: "What I'm concerned about is the perception of non-natives because of a couple of communities."

Exposition, a snow plow and a half-ton truck pulled in their backyard, alongside a pair of yellow school buses, two motor homes, a Ski-Doo and a trailer where one son keeps a

perception of non-natives because of a couple of communities." Naht said he plans to bring a proposal to an upcoming meeting of native leaders to open up band finances to public scrutiny. The model his officials are working on, in co-operation with the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Association of Chieftains, would result in audited figures—complete with salaries of elected band officials—being posted on the Indian Affairs Web site. Naht stresses that his goal is to offer evidence of sound management—not to expose more Ekalakas. "I haven't changed my attitude in terms of First Nations people being able to do what needs to be done," he said. "But there is a continued misperception that there is an incapacity to govern."

Naht admits that winning approval from native leaders to open up reserve books will take time. As well, he is pushing for an even more ambitious new "decisions act" to govern band politics—legislation that would include an ethics and conflict-of-interest code for reserve politicians. Meanwhile, the minister has signalled that he means business. He recently deployed senior officials to meet with newspaper editorial boards in Nova Scotia to send out a warning that Ottawa intends to become more rigorous when dealing with First Nations. His officials are vowing to find out much more in the next few months about just how handsomely some band politicians are being paid. Their main quarry: those on reserves, like Ekalaka, that are in financial difficulty.

There are plenty of those. Of Canada's 611 First Nations bands, 183 are in debt—largely due to Indian Affairs—which spends \$4.6 billion annually on native programs—has had to intervene in their financial affairs. But even then, the de-

partment's ability to clamp down on overspending and enforce good government has often been limited by Ottawa's reluctance to risk the charge that it is heavy-handedly squeezing native rights.

Even say that goes a long way to explain why Indian Affairs, at least in the past, has been unable to rein in chiefs like Bernard who receive huge paychecks as reserves where unemployment rates are startlingly high—in the case of Ekalaka, approaching 80 per cent. The Cape Breton band, which is Eastern Canada's largest reserve, has run up a debt of \$24 million, even though a team of outside consultants has been helping its members run their financial affairs since 1995. The band's co-managers—the Halifax office of accounting firm Deloitte & Touche, along with Chicago-based consulting group, a Seattle, N.B.-based company with an expertise in First Nations affairs—oversee the \$24 million from Indian Affairs that Ekalaka receives each year. That means scrutinizing expenditures, co-signing on capital projects and otherwise trying to make sure that the band itself is not piling up its debt while still delivering education, housing and social assistance. "The co-manager is an interventionist role," says Gerry Kerr, a partner in Chicago Consulting. "From time to time there can be significant debates."

But not, apparently, over Bernard's pay about which the co-manager could say little. Documents from the band office leaked to reporters indicate Bernard has taken in more than \$425,000 since being re-elected in December, 1996. In an interview, the chief told Maclean's the figure is inflated, he claims to have received only about \$360,000 in salary, expenses and other payments during this period. Band officials



Chief Bernard at his Ekalaka home: lavish pay for the chief of a Cape Breton reserve where unemployment approaches 80 per cent

claimed in travel expenses, as well as \$27,402 for acting as band manager for five months while Smith was on sick leave.

Bernard says he is "worth every penny." He points out that, since his re-election, the band has built 65 new houses on the reserve, opened a \$5-million high-tech high school and broken ground on a new \$18-million health centre. But whopping salaries like his only add to the perception that native reserves across Canada are fiscal cesspools where the chief and band council are able to exercise unchecked au-

thority they won't know the exact amount until they look at their books for the fiscal year that ended on March 31. At this point, all they can say is that Bernard's salary and expenses came from the \$1.2 million the band takes in annually from video-lottery machine profits and on-reserve tobacco sales—money that is administered by the elected band council and beyond the jurisdiction of the co-manager. "Nobody seems to have been paying attention to the totals," concedes Ekalaka band manager Clarence Smith.

Last December, council voted the chief a 6-6-per-cent raise, leaving his annual no-frills salary at \$140,488. Such an increase was perhaps not overly surprising last year, the council voted itself a 14.5-per-cent pay hike, raising salaries for the full-time politicians to \$42,800 annually. But the 10-member council has also allowed the chief to draw advances against his entire 2000 salary. They approved the \$60,000 Bernard

## Many hands say it is none of Ottawa's business how much they make from on-reserve ventures

thirty Bernad's critics say he has remained chief of Elsipatagan for 20 of the past 22 years largely because few are willing to criticize a politician with control over who gets a new house, social assistance and other necessities of on-reserve life. "Everyone is scared of the chief," says Elsipatagan aide Margaret Johnson, 35. "Voice against him and you work hard to job."

When the full facts are exposed, commentators sometimes erupt. After learning how lavishly Bernad is being paid, Johnson and a few other Elsipatagan residents last month swallowed their fear and marched on the band welfare office in protest. Around the same time, some 550 km southwest of Elsipatagan, members of the Acadia band were suing

Ottawa to take over their finances after learning that Chief Duane Robinson, her six councillors and administrative staff took home \$640,348 in salary and expenses in 1999—nearly what they received two years earlier for running the 200-person band.

The pattern is hardly limited to Nova Scotia. Last year, angry members of the Sudeston band near North Battleford, Sask., fired Chief Gabriel Goggin—at the time he was driving a 1999 Lincoln Navigator paid for by the band—when they found out he had collected more than \$350,000 in salary and expenses from April to December, 1998. In the more widely publicized case of alleged band financial mismanagement, a forensic audit of Alberta's oil-rich yet

poverty-ridden Stoney First Nation unearthed dozens of irregularities that were turned over to the Mounted in 1998. And while that attracted national attention, the underlying concern are not unique. In 1998-1999, Indian Affairs turned over 48 allegations of fraud on reserves to the RCMP for investigation.

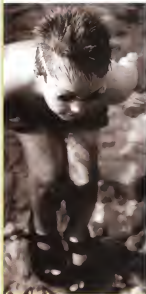
Despite all this, Ottawa has seemed hesitant to act. After Indian Affairs released an internal audit last year, federal Auditor General Denis Desautels called efforts to strengthen weak funding controls "unacceptably slow." Indian Affairs has had a role on the books since 1996 requiring that bands reveal all financial details as part of the yearly audited reports they must file to the department by the end of June. Even though, under the current rules, their finances would be released only to members of First Nations communities, many bands have not complied. "We've been working closely with First Nations that have been resisting this," said Cal Hedges, who heads the Indian Affairs' transfer payments division.

Hedges said the department plans to concentrate this year on demanding full compliance from the roughly 25 per cent of bands that are in some kind of financial difficulty. But many bands have always felt it is none of Ottawa's business how much they make from on-reserve gambling, tobacco sales and other business ventures—and how those profits are spent. Elsipatagan did not provide a list of salaries until last month—after a pointed threat from Ottawa to halt about \$1 million in discretionary Indian Affairs funding.

But Ottawa has no legal authority to impose limits on how much native politicians earn. Nault argues the government need not step in—as long as reserve residents are assured of getting clear, timely information on what their leaders are making. "That's the fair way to approach this," he said, "not to suggest that your opinion or mine should rule when it comes to elected democratic processes in First Nations communities." If the show-the-receipts-or-lose-it reaction displayed by some bands is any indication, Nault's prescription for more disclosure—not direct control from Ottawa—might just work.

With John Golder in Ottawa

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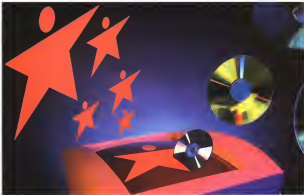
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He's just another Day

No march seems so old about the New Canadian Alliance party already. Prime Minister Jean Chretien's Liberal Reform cut behind the barn to shoot it, but the performance stopped was all wrong. The night in the House of Commons last week, the new party's first leader a Debenedictis, Goffe, who also Reform's first MP showed 11 years ago (good thing Reform never took that shot about anti-immigration). No MP crossed over from the other benches to give life to the argument that the Alliance "will be a coalition—and more than just Reform." And the party's bright new leadership happily carried East from Alberta, increasingly narrowing into a national media pack advertising its skin shed his views on abortion, gays and hanging overseas kids. The same was Stuckey Day getting the insurance that was named out of Manning when he fired out of the Prairie, but it has manifested the notion that little new changes under the Canadian sun.

beast. And important coverage: his campaign seemed interested in just one part of Day's political makeover: his social conservatism. It is striking that the Orem-born Day could embark on a national campaign without having thought of a better way to deflect questions about his strong opinions and past record on gay and women's rights. He protested that his campaign is based on fiscal, not social, conservatism, but he has yet to find the words to put up a wall between the two. (How about, "the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation"?). Day is supposed to be the politician who can give the Alliance the Orem-broaderbrush it needs. If so, he might want to study the way Mitt Romney kept his election campaign focused on taxes and spending.

## Making plans to travel?



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A Canadian couple spend their vacations buying people out of bondage in the African savanna

# FREEING THE SLAVES OF SUDAN

By Barry Carrin in southern Sudan

Like many a fellow nomad, Jonghot Dadi Mayar measures distance in days. He inhabits a trackless wilderness in southern Sudan, a vast sweep of dust-coloured grassland that rolls northward from the equatorial forests of the country's deep south to wister and die amidst the scorching wastes of the Sahara. Home, he says, is "three days hard walk" from where he is sitting at the entrance, seeking shade from a blistering African sun in the margin shade of a thorn bush. "It can take longer," he adds, "if you move as right to avoid the gashings and the Amosoni, with their borders." The 32-year-old hereditary chief, a tribal leader of the cattle-herding Nuer people, has not visited his home for two years. And he does not expect to see it again anytime soon. "They chased us out," he complains. "They don't want us there, the *Abuadjo*—the white men—who look for the oil. They came from far away, many, many days. A place that is part of the United States, called Canada."

Erased political geography aside, Jonghot's assertion might jolt some Canadians, especially those accustomed, even proud, of the conventional shining image of Canada as a country exercising a generally benign influence on world affairs. But on southern Sudan's sun-drenched savanna, among the spreading mahogany trees and towering coconut palms, the view is different. Borna Mahdi, a former Sudanese cabinet minister now teaching international affairs at Oxford University, leans against the side of a dusty pickup truck, not far from Jonghot's patchy thorn, and issues a warning:



A slave trader hands his moving *Ekhor* bags freedom for 576 people, while Canada's Peter and Roy look on from behind left: 'we don't have any big interests'

"Life is or now," says Mahdi, an occasional visitor to his homeland. "Canada is involved in our terrible war. The oil companies have dragged you into it. It may end, I fear, with Canadians getting killed, the way it did when the Americans were here."

The war Mahdi speaks of is certainly the longest and probably the most intractable in Africa, pitting Sudan's Muslim Arab north against an army of black African tribes in the country's south, many of them Christian but most still possessing the animistic beliefs of their ancestors. The south wants control, the south autonomy, if not outright independence. Except for a brief hiatus in the 1970s, the conflict has been spinning, along more or less continuously since Britain's colonial withdrawal left in 1955. Waged out of sight in the remote hinterlands of Africa's largest state, it is mostly invisible to Western eyes—but it is a deadly war nonetheless, having claimed, by all accounts, close to two million lives and rendered another five million homeless.

It is also a very dirty affair, even by the world's standards of modern warfare. The strife in Sudan has revived an ancient African scourge—a slave trade has risen not once again on the continent as a direct result of the war. Human beings,

mostly women and children, are suffering kidnapping, forced labor, physical punishment and rape. At the dawn of the 21st century people are being ruthlessly inflicted, bought and sold like the Nuer's long-haired cattle in the ubiquitous grass that marks Sudan's grassy plain. "The proof is incontrovertible," insists Human Rights Foundation, secretary general of the Sudan Human Rights Organization. "Thousands of people, perhaps tens of thousands, have been enslaved and are being enslaved at this very instant."

Like Mahdi, Fadel Ibrahim is another of Sudan's many political critics, a medical doctor imprisoned by the Sudanese regime, forced to flee to an uncertain sanctuary in Cairo. Unlike Mahdi, a black African Christian member of the Dirkele people, Fadel Ibrahim is a Muslim and an Arab. But he, too, blames the revival of the slave trade on the decades who seized power in a 1989 military coup. And he, too, finds fault with Canadian oil interests who, he claims, are exacerbating what is already a difficult situation. "There is absolutely no doubt," Fadel Ibrahim maintains, "that slavery is being employed as a weapon of war by the government of Sudan, both as a means to terrorize and demoralize their opponents in the south as well as a tool to clear the fields of potentially hostile populations in order to make them safe for the oil companies, including those from Canada."

There is evidence aplenty to support Fadel Ibrahim's charges, much of it gathered by an unconventional Canadian



## 'The price is \$50 a head— what it would cost for a couple of goats at the market'

couple who have been waging an unsuccessful battle to bring it to the attention of their companions. By day, Glen Pearson is a 49-year-old firefighter from London, Ont. His wife, Jane Roy, 35, runs a local food bank. But in their spare time, Pearson and Roy collect funds for Christian Solidarity International, a small Swiss-based human rights organization. And for the second time in a year, they have taken the money and slipped clandestinely across Sudan's southern border to wander the grasslands, mostly on foot, humping backpacks and tents.

There, last month in the company of two colleagues—an American and a German—from CSI's Zurich headquarters, they buy slaves, thousands of them, and promptly set them free. "The price is around \$50 a head," Roy tells a *Maclean's* reporter who accompanied her for 10 days during her latest foray. "About what it would cost for a couple of goats at the local markets." Since 1995, CSI has purchased and liberated 34,001 slaves, the vast majority of them women and children. It is a risky venture, considered in defiance not only of the outraged Sudanese authorities, but also in the face of condemnation by some of the world's major relief and humanitarian organizations. "But it is well worth it," affirms Pearson, "especially if we can do something to influence the ethics and the policy-makers back home, never mind the government of Sudan."

**That government,** or military junta, is headed by Gen. Omar al-Bashir, who rules in a sometimes uneasy alliance with the religiously hardline cleric and co-founder of the National Islamic Front. Its seat is Khartoum, a grimy, dust-blown city on the edge of the Nubian desert, 800 km to the north of the oilfields and the slave markets. The White Nile and the Blue Nile meet at the Sudanese capital, joining forces for the long, slow run down into Egypt.

Canadian interests in Sudan outweigh them as well, the result of Oct. 8, 1998, acquisition by Calgary-based Talisman Energy Inc., the largest independent oil and gas company in Canada—and one of the biggest in the world. Since then, Talisman has invested \$760 million to buy a 25-per-cent stake in the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Co., an international consortium whose other partners are the national oil compa-



*Slaves arriving to be freed for each, African and 361 (left). They dropped off our arms and left us to do. I cannot do anything by myself. I might be better dead."*



ries of China, with a 40 per-cent share, Malaysia, 30 per-cent, and Sudan, five per-cent. The purchase gave Talisman access to a massive sea of oil, a consortium with potentially lucrative reserves that have recently been upgraded from an estimated 50 million barrels to more than 800 million, nearly twice the size of the Hibernia field off Newfoundland.

The snag is that reserves lie beneath southern Sudan's rolling savanna, in the borderlands

bordering the two Sudanese provinces of Kordofan and Upper Nile, smack on the front lines between the country's warring factions. The government's authority does not extend much beyond Khartoum, the main towns and a few isolated military garrisons. The bulk of the oil-rich area is under the sway of either armed Nuer militia bands, most of which are aligned against the government, or the 30,000 undisciplined troops of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, the Dinka-dominated guerrilla force that has been in the



*Frontline of the struggle against the authorities in Khartoum. Sudan's graduates have been a battleground since time immemorial, Arab north versus African south on the savanna, home not only to the Dinka and Nuer tribes, but also to a populous Arab clan known as the Baggara. All—Dinka, Nuer and Baggara—are semi-nomadic cattle herders, much given to marauding raids over grazing rights and water access. Slavery is endemic in the region. The consensus in Nubian slaves was already infamous when the pharaohs reigned in Egypt. Even the British, during their colonial regime, could not manage to stamp it out completely. Down through the centuries, the Dinka and Nuer have been the main victims. The Baggara, now as in the past, enjoy a supreme tactical advantage, the mobility afforded by the horse. They are skilled horsemen, accomplished horse-brooders. In Dinka and Nuer territory, there are no horses. The animals cannot survive the hot, twice-yearly rainy seasons, when much of the southern savanna is transformed into swampy lands infested with malaria, yellow fever and hordes of voracious tsetse flies.*

While the savanna has always been an inhospitable place, it was the discovery of the riches lying under the long grass that turned it into a hot-war war zone. The U.S. petroleum giant, Chevron Corp., was the first to find oil in the region in 1979. Almost as soon as Chevron began extracting, it quickly became apparent that the Khartoum government of the day had no intention of sharing the profits with the southern Sudanese. That, in turn, provoked the rise of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, under the overall command of U.S.-educated Col. John Garang, and the resurgence of the civil war, which had been suspended by a seven-year ceasefire. Soon, the SPLA, along with other rebel groups in the south, were targeting Chevron's operations. In 1984, the inevitable occurred when three American oil workers were killed. Chevron halted work, eventually pulling out completely in 1990.

Colgar's Talisman is now occupying Chevron's place, causing the alarming prospect, as predicted by Borna Mahab, that

*Barred visitors of a ditched house in the village of Makh. There is absolutely nothing left save for a few crumbling mud walls and patches of burned soil.*

Canadian oil workers in Sudan—roughly 150 at the moment—may soon become the same mortal threats as their American colleagues. "Of course that's a concern," the company's chief executive officer, James Backus, acknowledges in a telephone interview. "But I wish that instead of talking about killing expatriate workers, they would talk about the benefits that can come from the oil project." He denies that the company is either fueling the civil war in Sudan or violating anybody's human rights in the country. On the contrary, Backus maintains that Talisman is actually contributing to Sudan's development. "There's a whole raft of initiatives," he says, pointing to 51 million invested in building roads, airstrips, a hospital, an orphanage, two medical dispensaries and drilling 45 water wells. Even more important, by entering a partnership with the Sudanese authorities the company is better placed to influence events from the inside. "Talisman brings Western eyes and Western conscience," says Backus. "They have we done that? We've brought Western scrutiny in a big way, which, in the long run, will benefit the political process."

That, however, is not the conclusion drawn by John Harker, the internationally respected Africa expert dispatched last fall by Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy to report on the "human security" situation in Sudan. In his report, issued in February, Harker maintained that foreign oil company activities in Sudan, including those of Talisman, had, in fact, "intensified the conflict." Despite company denials, Harker says authorities denied civilian populations to ensure the safety of oil workers and the security of the oilfields themselves near the town of Bertha. Even more damning, Harker found evidence that Sudanese government helicopter gunships and Russian Antonov military bombers were regularly flying from, as well as being repaired and refueled at, an airport constructed by Talisman. "It is a prominent





## War tally: close to two million dead and five million homeless

perception of southern Sudanese," Harder wrote, "that Taliban is in active collaboration with the government of Sudan, economically, politically, militarily. It is also the perception of those southerners that the government of Canada is either supportive or indifferent to that collaboration. In short, they identify of extraction not as a positive development, but as a major grievance with a Canadian label."

That label may prove difficult to erase. Pearson, for one, worries that Taliban's endorsement could irrevocably alter the balance of power in the country's civil war. "I think there is a very real possibility," he told Macdonald, "that the revenues Taliban is carrying for the government of Sudan may eventually allow Khartoum to win this war. And I don't

think this would be very helpful, especially for the long suffering people in the south."

Whatever the accuracy of that judgment, there are few indications of major changes in Taliban's programs in view of the recent failure of a month-long attempt by four Canadian non-governmental organizations—World Vision, Project Ploughshares, the Steelworkers Humanity Fund and the United Church of Canada—to persuade the company to mitigate some of the negative effects of its endorsement in Sudan. At the same time, Canadian governments' attitudes seem set, even if Taliban's partnership with the Sudanese regime threatens to undermine Aswadi's much-coveted humane security foreign policy at the very moment when Canada assumes, later this month, the rotating chairmanship of the UN Security Council. By all accounts, the foreign minister is scheduled to utilize the high profile of the UN occasion to deliver what his aides are describing as a "hard-hitting" speech,

Roy (left) and Pearson encounter after buying the freedom of hundreds of slaves. "It's worth it."

many organizations, and helped start a food bank 12 years ago.

One of the first volunteers was Roy, a London native who was studying zoology at the University of Western Ontario. The third of four daughters, Roy says she was raised in a "typical, middle-class Canadian home" by parents—her father was a civil engineer and her mother a teacher—who impressed upon their children "principles of tolerance and fairness." After graduating, she lived at home for two years and worked without pay at the food bank. Once she began receiving a salary, Roy says, she could afford to travel—and her global adventures began.

Roy and Pearson cover some of the costs of their trips, and many other expenses related to their humanitarian work, out of their salaries. But they live frugally, renting a one-bedroom apartment in a house, and allow themselves few luxuries beyond the 22-foot tailcoat he has kept on Lake Panache, near London, for several years. "We've never talked up how much we spend on volunteer work," says Pearson. "It's enough to cut into our lifestyle, but it's worth it."

D'Arcy Jenish



## 'Average people can make a difference'

When June Roy plots an exotic trip, she never calls a tour operator. The 35-year-old London, Ont., woman devotes most of each year to running a food bank along with her husband Glen Pearson, a 69-year-old firefighter, who serves as its executive director. But she also tries to get away for five to six weeks a year and, rather than lying on a beach or relaxing at the cottage, she travels to some of the world's most troubled countries to assist the victims of war. Over the past decade, she has worked with refugees in Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia. Most recently, she and Pearson, who were married last July, have focused on Sudan, and a slave redemption program run by the Zurich-based human rights organization,

Christian Solidarity International. "I have believed from an early age," she says, "that average people can make a difference—locally and globally."

Pearson is equally committed to humanitarian work and, like Roy, says he acquired his altruistic principles from his parents. A native of Calgary, Pearson said his father, an oil industry executive, and mother, a homemaker, taught him "to live for things beyond yourself." With that in mind, he attended a missionary school and, upon graduating in 1972, joined a Christian organization that dispatched food to famine victims in Bangladesh. After settling in London in 1976 and joining the fire department, he worked with church and com-

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2



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## A history painted in blood

The modern history of the Sudan has been marked by bloodshed and political instability. In 1874, the Egyptians completed a 50-year campaign to bring the nomads of the area under their control. In 1881, Muhammad Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, led a successful Muslim separatist uprising. His forces ripped legendary British general Charles Gordon to the east, Khartoum, in 1894. Commanders of a British relief force appealed to Canada for boatsmen to help transport their army up the Nile, and 385 Canadian volunteers took part in Canada's first overseas military action. But that expedition was unsuccessful—two days before its arrival at Khartoum, Gordon was killed when the Sudanese captured the city. The Mahdi's was finally overthrown in 1899 by another Anglo-Egyptian army. Britain, in partnership with Egypt, then ruled Sudan for the first half of the 20th century. In 1956 the independent Republic of the Sudan was proclaimed.

Since then, Sudan has been beset by unrest. Attempts by the country's Muslim majority to subjugate the non-Muslim population of the south have resulted in civil conflict—from 1963 to 1971, and from the mid-1980s to the present.

### BRIFING

- Capital: Khartoum
- Population: 34.5 million
- Languages: Arabic (official), Nubian, 13 Bedouin and other diverse dialects
- Religion: Sunni Muslim 70 per cent (based in the north); indigenous beliefs 25 per cent (mostly in the south and Khartoum); Christian five per cent (also mostly in the south and Khartoum)

including, in recent years, the ongoing violence of human rights in Sudan. But no matter how strong the rhetoric, *Answer*'s words are likely to ring hollow, given the enormous scale of human misery on the grasslands of faraway Sudan.

It is the dry season on the savanna now, the time when the scent of dried almost-shriven in the air along with the rising waves of heat. The grass is dust-yellow and the plants are bone-dry, baked as hard as concrete by the relentless African sun. Ideal conditions, in short, for the Sudanese military to resupply its isolated garrisons as well as launch what has become, since the discovery of oil, a bloody annual offensive

SPLA Maj. Bang Motien Nyikoe. "They have no money at all." The report delivers the message as he stands amidst the smouldering evidence of *masabul* handwork. Two days earlier, it had been a village called Malith, home to 350 Dinka, a few kilometres south of the Bahr el Jebel River in northern Bahr el Ghazal province. Now there is absolutely nothing left save for a few crumbling mud walls and dozens of circular patches of blackened, burned soil, marking the spots where the Dinka's *masabul*—their distinctive round houses with conical thatched roofs—once stood. "They came in the morning," Nyikoe recalls, "700 PDF soldiers on foot and 300 horses, each with two *masabul*. I only had a company of

## The oil-rich savanna of southern Sudan



The government's forces came in the an on-board helicopter gunships and an aging fleet of Soviet-era Antonov cargo planes, refuelled by *baggage*, *masabul* and thereby indiscriminately decimating for civilian populations. They came by barge down the Nile and its tributaries, by *baggage* men along the single track that keeps down from Khartoum to terminate at Wau, in the northern reaches of Bahr el Ghazal province. The regular Sudanese troops are never alone. They are always reinforced by local militia, known as Popular Defence Forces. Most fearsome of all, however, are the *masabul*, a relic from Sudan's past. They are marauding horse-borne irregulars, recruited from the ranks of the Nuer and Dinka's ancient enemies, the Baggara Arabs. And they possess what amounts to a government licence to loot, pillage, rape and murder.

"The *masabul* are the worst," says

troops here, 240 men, as we had to withdraw after an hour-and-a-half fighting. I lost eight good men. So far, we've contained nine dead women, seven dead babies."

Malith's inhabitants faced violence. When the combined force of PDF and *masabul* moved back north across the muddy waters of the Bahr el Jebel, they carried with them 128 women and children, all destined for the slave markets in southern Kordofan and Darfur provinces. There is no respite about the fate awaiting them there. "Most of the women will probably be raped on the way north," says John Elmon, the American in charge of Christian Solidarity's operations in Sudan. "In the north they will be sold or distributed among the PDF and *masabul*. The women will be put to work on household chores, cooking, feeding, fetching water and firewood. Some will become concubines for their masters. The children



## 'They cut my wrist with a knife and ran a rope through it, right around the bone. I never saw my boy again'

will be sent to look after the master's goats and cows."

Elibar speaks from experience. He is chief architect and principal manager of what amounts to a Sudanese version of the 19th-century Underground Railway that once spirited American slaves north to safety and freedom in Canada. In Sudan, the slaves—and more controversial—difference is that Elibar and his colleagues at CSI regularly can duff big kill of cash into the country to service a clandestine network of Arab slave dealers. The traders, mostly Baggara tribesmen, travel the north, quickly purchasing slaves, then lead them south, where Elibar buys them. The price per head is fixed at 50,000 Sudanese pounds (\$56, down from \$75 a year ago), "to avoid creating a market," says Elibar.

Said, the process has been widely condemned. It infuriates the Sudanese government, which denounces that slavery runs within its borders. Last year, the government managed to gather enough support at the United Nations to have CSI stripped of its observer status at the world body. UNICEF's executive director, Carol Bellamy, has described CSI's slave-dealing activities as "absolutely intolerable." The Swiss-based organization is also the target of church privately voiced criticism among the 40 or so relief agencies currently at work in Sudan, who claim that CSI's efforts are merely a band-aid for a problem that will not be ultimately solved until the country's civil war draws to a close. Others say the actual buying of slaves by westerners encourages others to enslave people for sale. But Pearson maintains that criticism does not sound up because slave raids are down from previous years.

Then worse, there are off-spread suggestions, alluded to in the Harper report, that CSI's slave shipments may be a conduit, with some so-called slaves being recycled by unscrupulous insiders. That accusation amounts clearly says.

To counter it, Pearson and Roy are finger-pointing all of the slaves they are purchasing and freeing. "The plan is to build a database," says Pearson, standing in the southern Sudan's wetlands, here, primarily pressing finger into an ink pad, then onto previously prepared sheets of squared paper. "I've got some friends in the police back in London, who will run all of these photos through their computers. I hopefully, sometime in the future will be able to instantly recognize whether any of the photos match."

Neither Pearson nor Roy pretend that their endeavors in Sudan are likely to bring an end to the slave that has plagued the country for more than 40 years. "We don't have any big solutions," acknowledges Roy, digging into a tin of cold brew after a long, hot day on the trail. "But I have been around a lot and can recognize human suffering when I see it. All we are trying to do here is ease some of that suffering by bringing



Free slave Maryam with her daughter: the father is her former master. 'I hate him,' she says. 'He was very bad to me.'

people out of bondage. I think that's worthwhile." She makes the comment near the end of her mission during which CSI funds were used to purchase and free 4,368 slaves.

Nobody knows how many slaves may be in the country in his report. Harter estimated the number at 15,000. Elibar thinks there may be as many as 100,000. Whatever the actual number, their individual stories are as similar as they are appalling.

**Adul Yar Maswien's tale** is typical. The 26-year-old woman rests against the trunk of a gurgling stream near the village of Mahik Tong in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Her belly is swollen in pregnancy. At her feet, her naked three-year-old daughter lies lazily on the dirt. Both the unborn child and the little girl were fathered by a man she knows only as Saleh, her master for eight years in the village of Mirman in southern Kordofan. "I hate him," she says, with venom. "He was very bad to me." She stretches out a wrist, where there is a huge patch of therapy scar tissue. It happened, she recounts, after she was captured by slave raiders and was being led northward. "I could not keep up because I had a little boy then," she recalls. "So they cut my wrist with a knife

and ran a rope through it, right around the bone. I never saw my boy again."

Not far away, Maswien's son, 15, sits in the same village of Mahik Tong, describing the incident that cost him his arm. "I lost my master's bull," he says. "He cut off my hand when I could not find it again." Further out, in the village of Akoo, another teenage boy, totally naked and covered in fine dust, wanders aimlessly away from a fingerprinting station with Pearson and Roy. His name is Long Tong, he says. He recounts his capture by a slavehunter raiding party that attacked his entire village of Har Noon. "I was running with my father when they got me," he says. "They took me to Mirman and sold me to Khalid. Khalid sent me to look after his goats." The glances down at his body. "I had clothes then, but they left upon Khalid would not give me any more."

Gaining Deng Yel and Adrian African African were never enslaved. But their wives and children were, in 1995. And both men are living testimony of the perils involved in venturing northward to retrieve loved ones. Neither has any arms below the elbow. "They caught us outside Mirman," recalls Yel, "chopped off our arms and left us to die." A group of sympathetic local women stumbled upon the men and nursed them back to health. But Yel and African sometimes wish they had never been rescued. "I am like a child," Yel tells a visitor in the town of Mahik Akoo, where both live. "I cannot do anything by myself or for myself. I could die of thirst even if there was water nearby. I might be better dead."

**It is the sheer brutality** of events in Sudan that shock, not to mention the distinct possibility that the re-emergent slave trade in the country is not only being encouraged by the authorities but is actually a state-sponsored initiative. In the Sudan of the Sudan Human Rights Organization's has no doubts on the issue. "The entire process is orchestrated by the Sudanese military," he claims. The deposed authorities are, in Elibar's view, government recruited and trained. "They focus on the younger Baggara," he says, "offering new recruits a horse, an AK-47 automatic rifle, 50,000 Sudanese pounds and two weeks of shelter or weapons. You cannot imagine the attraction for a young Baggara male. In that society, to own a horse of one's own is to be a knight."

While the Sudanese government denies there is any slavery in the country, it concedes, however, that there may be

**Few Canadian corporations** have been as readily convinced as Tishman Energy Inc. In the past six months the Calgary-based company has come under attack by church groups, non-governmental organizations, the UN Commission on Human Rights and U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The source of that collective outrage: Tishman's participation in a lucrative oil play in southern Sudan, which critics say is helping to finance a brutal and protracted civil war. Through it all, James Buckle, Tishman's president and chief executive officer, has argued that his company's involvement in Sudan is badly misunderstood. "Working away is certainly not going to help anything," Buckle said.

Madison has work. "If you are there, providing an example, you have a chance of moving things forward. There is a moral commitment to be involved, not the other way around."

Winding off negative publicity is a new side for the British-born, Oxford-educated Buckle. After toiling in relative obscurity for two decades for a number of international companies, Buckle

landed in Calgary in 1981 as president of BP Canada Inc. The following year, the London-based British Petroleum Co. sold its interest in BP Canada, which became Tishman, with Buckle firmly at the helm. In 1986, Tishman obtained Calgary-based Enbridge Corp. and its 25 per cent interest in Sa-

than's controversial Greater Nile oil project, which Aris had acquired from U.S. multinational Chevron Corp.

In 1995, the company made a record profit of \$176 million on revenue of \$1.97 billion. And in future looks more after Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy's recent decision not to carry through on an earlier threat to impose sanctions on Tishman. "The question isn't Tishman's role," observed Axworthy. "The question is how do you get peace in a conflict that's gone on for decades?"

Tishman is no longer the sole Canadian player in Sudan. Last month, Fortem Resources Ltd., a Calgary-based junior oil company, secured a concession about 200 km south of Khartoum, and a budgeting \$43.5 million over the next three years to explore and develop the property. That move has already come under fire from human rights activists. Confronted by Medford, Fortem president Randy Powell declined to respond. Said Powell: "We simply do not want to reinforce through the press and create a black-and-white picture."

Canadian resource companies that operate abroad are coming under increased scrutiny by human rights groups and other non-governmental organizations such as Ottawa-based Mining Watch Canada. Joan Kaye, its national coordinator, says: "The bottom line is that the federal government takes no responsibility for the behavior of Canadian corporations overseas. It really is up to them." The bar being set by Tishman, among others, shows no sign of sliding.

**Brian Bergeson in Calgary**



Buckle: 'There is a moral commitment to be involved.'

a chronic problem with what Harter calls "abductees." But that does not explain those rugged, foot-loose thousands freed from bondage by the efforts of people like John Elibar, Glen Pearson and Jane Roy. Nor is it much of an answer to the questions posed by the several kinds of Aris, Deng Yel and Adrian African. "They are heroes in my book," Pearson quietly remarks, watching a young Dinka hold a cup to the lips of each of the two services men. "Maybe it might help to change a few minds back home, if certain people in our government could see these guys and talk to them." Maybe it might. ■



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# From Manila with regrets

Tales of the Philippine president's drinking result in the firing of his chief of staff

By Tom Fennell

It is a long way from the slums of Manila to the tree-lined campus of the University of British Columbia. But against all odds, Aquilino Laquian fought his way out of poverty in the Philippine capital to become a professor of urban studies at UBC. During the course of a 35-year career, he held prestigious posts with the United Nations, but he always dreamed of returning home to help the people of the slums. He finally got his chance on Jan. 16 when he was appointed chief of staff to President Joseph Estrada's government. Estrada, a former action movie hero, was elected in 1998 on a pledge to tackle poverty in his country, and Laquian thought he would be able to play a role in helping realize that promise. But after just 45 days, Laquian, who is married with two children, was fired after newspaper quotes him as saying Estrada often conducts business during late night drinking binges. "At four o'clock in the morning," Laquian allegedly claimed, "I am the only sober person in the room."

Being sacked was a personal injury for the 65-year-old professor, who says he was wildly misquoted. Laquian, who holds a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, grew up in Manila's sprawling Tenno shantytown, where he shared a tiny six-roomed hut with his parents, four brothers and one sister. Life was hard—he saw two owners die in knife fights and learned to dodge the murderous thugs who controlled Tenno's narrow streets. "They would stand on the corner making someone's dog," Laquian told *Manila's* last week following his ouster



Laquian on the UBC campus, he wanted to help the poor in Manila's slums

to Vancouver. "They would beat you."

Laquian seemed destined for a life of poverty. But he excelled at school, and Laquian's father, a tailor, allowed him to continue his education. Scholarships helped the struggle. Aquilino, celebrating in 1965 with his graduation from MIT. He came to Canada three years later and began working with the Bureau of Municipal Research in Toronto. Later, he joined the UN, ultimately heading up its family planning operations for China, Mongolia and North Korea. In 1991, he returned to Canada to teach at UBC.

Five years later, a friend of Estrada's family introduced Laquian to the future president. Laquian felt Estrada was dedicated to assisting the poor and joined the 1998 campaign that brought the former actor to power. He was so impressed that he wrote *Estrada: the Congressional President*, a book celebrating the president's life. Last November, Estrada asked Laquian to join his government. "I had hoped, because I am an expert on housing," said Laquian, "that I would finally be able to help the poor."

Following his appointment, Laquian

was engulfed in cabinet intrigues. "There were a number of people," he said, "who felt that someone who had spent 35 years abroad should not have power." Laquian also believed he was targeted by corrupt elements in the Manila media on the service of Estrada's enemies. During a conversation with a group of reporters, he says, "They laid out their booty trap." One noted that Laquian was a controller and asked him what he thought of Estrada's drinking. "I replied," said Laquian, "that at home I am sometimes the designated driver."

The next day his comments were front-page news. "If a sober person in the room had hid all the documents that were signed," the papers quoted Laquian, "then decision-making would be rational." Estrada, who has a reputation for high living and claims to have modernized his drinking by switching from whiskey to red wine, immediately fired Laquian. "He wanted to get a few laughs," the president told reporters, "but he was taken seriously." Even so, more Filipinos may now be questioning their president's late night activity. □

ALL you need.



Andrew Phillips

## Diplomacy on the cheap

It's not exactly at the top of national concerns, but spare a thought for the plight of Canada's diplomats, the (mostly quite young) men and women who represent Canada, wade through disputes with other countries, generally manage relations with the rest of the world. These days they are not happy campers, not at all.

The problem, simply put, is money. Their pay is lousy, not only compared with what people with similar qualifications make in the private sector, but with what other government departments pay for the same kind of work. For a few years,

the foreign-service types mostly suffered in silence. Lately, though, they've been speaking out in ways that are, well, less than diplomatic. Whenever ministers have visited Canadian missions abroad in the past few weeks, they've been handed polite but pointed letters complaining working conditions for foreign service officers at "abysmal" and "unfair." The campaign began in January at the Canadian Embassy here in Washington, where staff lobbied International Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy to speed efforts to Beijing, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Vienna—several dozen locations in all.

A few youngish embassy staffers gathered last week to air their beefs. This being Washington and they being diplomats, the revolution took place over lunch at a Starbucks a couple of blocks from the embassy. They were an impressive bunch, and (the typical reputation of diplomats notwithstanding) there was not a peep about either. All advanced degrees—in law, economics, international relations and languages. Twelve of them have two graduate degrees apiece. Perceptions of cramped quarters, international bureaucrats aside, a lot of the work they do is important to the livelihood of regular Canadians: one was off to Geneva the next day to defend the Auto Show before the World Trade Organization.

All most they live their work, but they worry that they can't keep on doing it on salaries that start at \$36,210, about as much as a rookie firefighter. They top out at just under \$69,000 a year, and it can take a decade or more to get there. Other benefits and perks are supposed to compensate, but they don't make up for the currency difference at, for example, the United States, or for the loss of one income in a two-career family. "There's a lot of frustration in working for your

country," said one, "but it's becoming a luxury we can't afford." Another ventured that the department is trying to follow the "Catholic church model—you take a vow of poverty and assume a lifelong vocation. That doesn't cut it any more."

The fortunate few who make it into the executive ranks of Foreign Affairs sure make. But for a decade or so, budget cuts and a glut of entrenched managers have made promotions increasingly difficult. Like all federal employees, foreign service staff endured five years of pay freezes in the mid-'90s. What really riled them, though, was a salary offer just before Christmas—a measly one per cent. That has since been doubled to two per cent, the 1,550 foreign service officers agreed to in early March and are still in contract talks.

What galls them more is that others, even in government, make substantially more. A justice department lawyer assigned to an embassy can make 20 per cent more than a lawyer in the foreign service. Even worse, locally hired staff supervised by Canadian diplomats often earn more. In a letter to ministers that quickly became public, former prime minister Kim Campbell, now consul-general in Los Angeles, noted that the receptionists there is paid more than the second-in-command of the consulate's immigration section. Campbell told the ministers she was "frankly shocked" that the Canadians are paid so little. Other heads of missions—including Ambassador Raymond Chanen in Washington, diplomat here on file—are also backing the protest, though more discreetly. Several have written to deputy ministers.

**Why care?** Partly because you get what you pay for—and right now Ottawa isn't paying much for the people who represent it abroad. More important, because foreign service officers are, predictably, quitting in droves. Attrition rates are at second levels as they find better-paying jobs at law firms, banks, trade associations and such. Those people have been trained, often at great expense, by the Canadian taxpayer. One bright young man who left the service last week to take a job in Asia with an international financial company put it this way: "Do employees really want to pay to train people for American Express? Right now, the government is throwing it up and letting us go without much of a fight. Is that what we want?" Good question.



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### The battle over Elain

Vice-President Al Gore complicated the fight over Cuban refugee Elain González when he backed Republican-sponsored legislation that would allow the six-year-old to remain in the United States. Gore's announcement, designed to appeal to Cuban-American voters, came in Elain's father, Juan Miguel González, prepared to travel to Miami to demand custody of his son.

### Netanyahu under fire

Israeli police recommended bringing drastic charges against former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his wife, Sara. In a television interview, Netanyahu claimed that the charges, which seen fines \$100,000 worth of gifts the couple received when he was in office, were "baseless" and that he and his wife were being "persecuted."

### The terror of rape

A young Bosnian Muslim woman took the stand before the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal at The Hague to describe how she and other girls were raped by Serbian soldiers in 1992. The testimony from the woman, who was 15 at the time, came during the trial of three Bosnian Serb fighters who are charged with running so-called Bosnian rape camps intended to terrorize Bosnia's Muslims.

### Sex-harassment charges

Li-Guo, Claudia J. Kennedy, 52, the U.S. army's highest-ranking woman, filed a sexual-harassment suit against another army general, accusing him of groping her. Kennedy cleared the incident took place in her office at the Pentagon in 1996.

### Researcher resumes work

Canadian scientist Judith Lapierre, 32, returned to a Moscow research institute after it accepted the facts surrounding a sexual-harassment case in which a fellow scientist attempted to kiss her. The incident occurred in a New York press during a three-month isolation experiment designed to test interpersonal relations on long space voyages. Lapierre was the only woman among eight international scientists locked into the sealed capsule.

## An African cult's murderous legacy

**Former prostitute** Gladys Mwerinde and Joseph Kibwetere, a defrocked Roman Catholic priest, after told their followers in the Movement for the Restoration of the 10th Commandments of God that they had seen visions of the Virgin Mary. But as scorching dug up body after body from the ground in a remote farming region in the southwest corner of Uganda, the vision was more one of unspeakable evil. The carnage began to be revealed on March 17, when 530 people died in a tin-roofed prayer house in the farming village of Kasese when the building was deliberately set on fire with containers of gasoline. Since then, three mass graves have been found in the area, bringing the total number of cult members who died to almost 1,000. Nearly 300 bodies alone were found in a house and buried in a garden belonging to cult member and former priest Dominik Karambo in the village Rusheya, about 35 km from Kasese.

Most of the bodies showed stab wounds and signs of strangulation. At first, police said the deaths in Kasese were part of a mass suicide in which the victims believed they were to be carried off to heaven by the Virgin Mary. But with the discovery of the other bodies, officials are now calling the deaths organized murder. Police say the victims believed the world was going to end on Dec. 31, 1999, and carried all their worldly goods over to Mwerinde and Kibwetere. They may have asked for their belongings back when doomday failed to arrive. In response, Mwerinde and Kibwetere—now being sought in an international manhunt—may have murdered their victims.



Searchers uncover bodies, mystery and greed.

## Russian election victory for a spy

**Onetime KGB agent** Vladimir Putin, who spent much of the Cold War spying on the West, swept to victory in the Russian presidential election. Putin, plucked from obscurity last year and made prime minister by ousting President Boris Yeltsin, urged his supporters to unite to tackle

the nation's many problems. Analysts say Putin received widespread support for appearing decisive in waging war against rebel forces in Chechnya.

Many Russians now hope he will focus the same determination on the country's grave economic and social problems. But the war remains Putin's toughest challenge. While he has claimed victory in Chechnya, last week 27 soldiers were missing after they were ambushed—an indication that the rebels plan to fight on.



## Model behaviour

Claudia Schiffer acts without boundaries

In the new film *Black and White*, Claudia Schiffer trades in corsets for sweats—and her makeup for gold chains. Her character, Greta, sells out her basketball star boyfriend and hooks up with a gangster rapper. "Claudia is open to anything and without limits as to what she will conceive of," says the film's director, James Toback. "She is completely without inhibition." But Schiffer says she also has one boundary: "I haven't taken any clothes off for a film or for fashion," says the 29-year-old German supermodel. "Right now, if I took my clothes off in movies, I would be explored. Maybe later I'll be comfortable if I'm perceived as being a good actress."

Schiffer recently got engaged to British tycoon Tim Jeffries. But she laughs at the thought of having kids: "My clock is super not ticking." Not will she give up modelling for acting? "There are still many lucrative modelling offers. I feel I'm right in the middle of my career." Besides, a model always gets to wear clothes.



Schiffer: she's leaving her clothes on, for now

## Steady Stojko salvages silver

Just when it looked as if Canada might be shut out of world figure skating championship medals for the first time since 1981, Elvis Stojko skate his way in Nice, France. Stojko landed eight triple jumps to earn the silver medal behind Russia's Alexei Yagudin. Not bad considering the Richmond Hill, Ont., resident missed the final in fourth place. "I kept pushing through the program," he said later. "I knew what had to be done."

It was a disappointing event for some other Canadians. In their first worlds together, the fast-rising pair of Jamie Salé and David Pelletier faltered in their free skate and dropped to fourth. Stojko also struggled at times. The three-time world champion, who helped popularize the quad, didn't land two of his four-rotation attempts in Nice. And at 28, he might have been tempted to retire after seeing 29-



With Yagudin, two three-time champions

year-old Yagudin win his third straight world gold. But next year's worlds are in Vancouver, Stojko said—a good reason to stay for at least one more season. "I want to sink in," he said of his silver-winning finish, adding, "There was a lot of doubt from people, critics, but this totally proves that no matter how old you are in this sport, you can make it work."

## Orchestrating Oscar

Although American composer John Corigliano has earned many of his profession's highest achievements, he says no one in the "real world" noticed him until his recent Academy Award win in the best original score category for *Coriolanus*. "Even if you open a playing in the Met, only 0.1 per cent are aware of it," says Corigliano, 62. "But [after the awards] every single person says 'I saw you,' people ask for your autograph, you realize that it really is." And everybody needs to touch the Oscar. "It's like a fetish," says the Brooklyn, N.Y. native. "Not just people on the street, but people like Fanny Fawcett—who asked, 'Can I hold it?'"



Corigliano's nod

Although *The Red Violin* was Corigliano's second Academy Award-nominated film score—his first was for 1982's *Always*—it will probably be his last. "I'm back in the symphony world," he says during a stop in Minnesota, where he is launching a world-premiere orchestral piece. "I can contribute more here" (even if it will go relatively unnoticed).

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# E-commerce and the Law

By Chris Wood

The modern CEO's worst nightmare lives alone in a small apartment in a low-rise complex on a tidy street in Victoria. He is courteous, offering a visitor the best chair in the house—the office-style one with the cracked seat in front of the computer—perching himself on the only other support the place provides, a stool. His fields pale hands together in his lap and addresses every question with the same measured intensity. “I oppose filtering software,” says 23-year-old Matthew Skala, “on philosophical grounds” but that’s not why he chose to demonstrate his program-busting skills on Cyber Patrol, a popular software “filter” that allows parents to keep children off objectionable Web sites. That was for reasons that sound more like bravado. Other filtres had already been decoded, Skala says, “and Cyber Patrol was more technically sophisticated than most, so it was an especially attractive target.”

Picking up where a like-minded young Swede named Eddy Jansson had left off, Skala, a graduate student in computer science at the University of Victoria, spent six weeks “reverse engineering” the complex software. Finally, on March 11, he unveiled his success on the Internet. He and Jansson posted a program that showed the list of Web sites Cyber Patrol is meant to block, as well as the registered adult user’s secret password. To any adolescent eager to circumvent parental filters, “cyphreak”—as Skala and Jansson called their creation—provided a master key to a global porn thap on the family computer. To

executives of Massachusetts-based Microsoft Software Inc., which makes Cyber Patrol, and giant toymaker Mattel Inc., its corporate parent, it was more like a bad dream—some cyber-terrorist kid with a modern wit threatening to ruin an entire business line.

Before it was over, Matchett offers to contain the damage set off legal battles in three countries, saw Skala and Jansson’s program replicated on dozens of “mirror” sites around the world, and contributed a new phrase to the evolving lexicon of cyberspace: the “Spurs subpoena.” It also underscored just a few of the unsettling new le-

gal issues facing companies and consumers doing business on the Net. “The law always trails society,” notes Skala’s Victoria lawyer, Ed Levin. Confronted with the famous pace at which business is moving into uncharted territory online, legislators, regulators and the courts are struggling to bring the law up to Internet speed.

## Where do you sue a Web site? How do you protect privacy? Is an online contract valid? Governments grapple with the Net.

Legislation due to be passed this week in Ottawa, and a bill on Senkarchew’s order paper, represent significant milestones in taming the wild e-frontier. But the new federal Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act, despite its generally low-key passage through Parliament as Bill C-6, may yet face the same kind of uproar that has greeted legal initiatives on cyberspace in other countries. When it comes into effect, likely in January, the measure will be the most far-reaching federal intrusion into provincial jurisdiction in decades. Even so, it fails to squarely address the biggest legal headache for e-commerce: the question of where “there” is in a virtual marketplace. The toughest nut may be craved by 2005, worldwide e-commerce

is expected to reach \$4 million, and governments are only beginning to grapple with how to keep these revenues within the crumple of the tax man.

Canada faces the most immediate impact from the sweeping new personal information act, known to many lobbyists as the privacy law. “It is a big piece of legislation,” says Patricia Wilson, a partner in the Ottawa law office of Oshroff Harkin & Haczor LLP. “Aside from gun control, it’s probably the biggest piece of legislation that this government has enacted.” The new statute will bring Canadian rules on what business may do with customer or employee personal information into line with standards required by the European Union, which are far more restrictive than those in the United States. The act also provides a legal basis for treating digital documents and so-called electronic signatures as equivalent to their paper-and-ink counterparts—an important safeguard for online contracts.

Adopting principles developed by the Canadian Standards Association, the act will require firms of thousands of Canadian companies and most non-profit organizations to have a formal policy for handling personal information, and to name someone who can be held accountable for it. In a measure that takes direction at Web sites that collect and sell data about visitors, the new legislation will require businesses both on- and off-line to disclose what they collect—and for what purpose. In most cases (there are exceptions for purposes like law enforcement), consumers must also get a choice not to give up personal information, without losing access to a company’s goods or services. Consumers will be able to report alleged violations to the privacy commissioner, and companies that fail to co-operate with an investigation face fines of up to \$300,000.

It is a very tricky issue to get right. Privacy and e-commerce advocates alike oppose a bill introduced by British Columbia governments, designed, like C-6, to get in step with European e-commerce standards. Critics say it could force British Internet providers to turn information about a client’s Web-surfing habits over to police without a search warrant.



Photo 1: Copyright: Images/Chris Wood. Photo 2: Copyright: Chris Wood.

## 'It's no longer Big Brother we worry about—it's Big Browser'

and that it threatens company direction with jail if they cannot produce the software "key" to encrypted data. In the United States, political analysts have called privacy the growth issue of the new decade. "It's no longer Big Brother we have to worry about, it's Big Browser," New York state Attorney General Eliot Spitzer told the inaugural meeting of a Congressional Privacy Caucus last month. In Canada, privacy groups applauded Ottawa's initiative to shield Canadians from the kind of micro-profiling that some U.S.-based Internet companies have attempted. "This is a very good privacy code," says David Evans, executive director of the B.C. Freedom of Information and Privacy Association, "but should protect Canadians from the worst abuses."

But its protections may yet come under fire. Buried deep in the Liberal bill is a highly unusual constitutional time bomb. Traditionally, Ottawa sets the rules for federally regulated businesses such as transportation and communications, and for commerce transacted across provincial borders. All other business has been left to the provinces to regulate. But in a precedent-setting move, the new legislation gives the provinces three years to enact laws mirroring the federal requirements. If they don't, Ottawa will apply its rules to all business within a province. (There is an exception for Quebec, which already has a privacy code that qualifies.) "They kind of threw down the gauntlet to the provinces," observes Wilson. "It's a new way of setting national standards."

So far, no province has come forward with a matching bill. At the moment, several are working on measures similar to a more narrowly focused bill making its way through the Saskatchewan legislature. Based on a model law developed by the United Nations, the Electronic Information and Documents Act "will provide some certainty to the world of e-commerce," says Saskatchewan's justice minister, Chris Atworthy. The act, he adds, will ensure that in transactions under the province's jurisdiction, "anything done electronically will be treated the same way as things done on paper." Privacy, however, is not covered.

In fact, many of the thorniest legal issues facing online business remain unresolved. Most involve disputes over whose rules apply in the borderless realm of cyberspace. In March one, the company filed one suit against Skala in British Columbia and began another against Jansson in Sweden, as well as suing both again in Massachusetts. Earlier this year, Toronto-based iCraveTV bowed to a U.S. court ruling that its lax enforcement of off-air television signals infringed American law—over though iCraveTV limited its service targeted only Canadian viewers and was legal in Canada.

In another widely cited case, BrainTech Inc., a B.C. company, sued a user from the same province who slipped its sock in an online chat room. But it chose to do so in Texas, arguing it had a small office there and that the critical conversations were accessible there on the Internet. A Texas judge agreed, and awarded BrainTech more than \$600,000 in damages. But when the company tried to collect in British Columbia, the province's appeals court struck down the Texas judgment. The Supreme Court of Canada later upheld the B.C. ruling.

Commerce and politics can collide as well. A score of organizations—ranging from Internet providers to free-speech advocates—told Virginia Gov. James Gilmore III last October, after he signed a law extending to the Internet a state ban on the display of anything that might be deemed "harmful



Victorian. Slade his challenge to Martin's anti-porn Internet software led to lawsuits in three countries

to juveniles." The suit says the law unproperly asserts state jurisdiction over the entire Internet.

Legal experts say many cross-border conflicts can be resolved under existing principles. Can you or your government sue a Web site at your state's courts when it is based somewhere else? A key test is whether the site allows you to interact with it—entering personal preferences, buying goods or services—rather than serving as a passive source of information. A magazine like Yahoo! allows people to interact, and is potentially liable in jurisdictions around the world. As new legislation takes hold in Britain, the United States and elsewhere, Canadian companies are increasingly finding their Internet operations under scrutiny by foreign regulators, as well as those at home. "These businesses are out of the chute and across the world almost immediately," says e-commerce lawyer Jim Martes, an adjunct professor at the University of British Columbia. "They may not be aware of the breadth of requirements that will be applied."

Those may soon include tax liabilities. While Canada

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## Tech

government has been silent on Internet taxes, the 29-nation Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and an advisory committee to the U.S. Congress have tackled the issue. Both run up against the same problem: "Who is going to tax the transaction?" asks Mutter. "Is it the state where the buyer is located? Or is it the state where the vendor is? It's not at all clear."

Canada's leading authority on Internet law, University of Ottawa professor Michael Geist, has one novel idea to help end the confusion. In a research paper he completed in January for the Ontario government, Geist suggests the province could issue a "test of approval" to appear on participating Web sites, attesting that the company accepts Ontario law. He thinks this might attract nonlocal e-businesses from elsewhere to "locate" in Ontario.

Similarly in innovative practices are emerging almost daily, as businesses and their legal advisers wrangle with the new realities of the virtual marketplace. In the case of *Mattel vs. Stutz*, one such development created cyberspace's latest phrase. After Stutz and Janssen agreed out of court on March 24 to sell their "cybuck" program to Mattel for a dollar (and a promise not to distribute any more copies), the company sent dozens of e-mails to Web sites that had posted the program, ordering them to remove it. Critics accused Mattel of resorting to "subpoena by spam" (Web talk for widely disseminated junk e-mail). Mattel's spokesmen insist that the e-mails were temporary restraining orders, not subpoenas, and sanctioned by the Massachusetts court.

In any case, the makers of *Cyber Patrol* had one advantage most companies don't: Their filtering software is programmed to update its list of blocked Web sites once a day, when the user logs on to the Internet. Since "cybuck" first began showing up on mouse sites, *Cyber Patrol* has been adding their addresses to the banned list so fast as they can be identified. As for Stutz, he's gone back to completing his master's degree—while turning down a sudden raft of programming job offers. ■

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## Taste of TRAVEL USA

It seems only fitting that Taste of Travel's third edition in Maclean's Executive Edition features the favourite destination of Canadians — the United States of America.

For Canadians, the United States has always been a natural place to explore. Its proximity makes it easily accessible by car and today, with Open Skies, getting a flight to your favourite American destination is not only easy, it is also economical. And with the Canadian dollar gaining strength against the U.S. currency, Canadians are clearly intent on discovering America in earnest once again.

In this Taste of Travel advertising supplement we focus on the following destinations — New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Georgia, South Carolina, Maine and more — with articles that will give you an idea of what to expect on your visit. But book early.

The latest figures from the Conference Board of Canada and the U.S. Department of Commerce indicate that business is booming. In 1999 alone, Canadians spent \$27.9 billion U.S. on travel to the United States and predictions are that will continue to increase in 2000. So enjoy this edition of Taste of Travel — a joint initiative between Maclean's magazine and Canadian Travel Press — as it provides you with a wonderful sampling of the U.S.A.

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## Discovering America in Earnest Once Again

In this travel guide we take you from a short drive through the American Southwest to a colourful look into America's past, from the crashing surf of Maine to the gentle salt marshes and fishing fleets of Georgia. Our driving guides give you a taste of travel that takes you off the Interstate and into timeless towns and picturesque fishing villages, from the hills of New Mexico to the heart of Texas.

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## Santa Fe, New Mexico

Unless you touch the runway in a new summer storm, you will step off the plane in Albuquerque to breathe crisp, dry air and savor at the clear azure skies that go along with an altitude of 2,000 metres (7,000 feet).

Once your car is rented, you could drive south on I-25 north to Santa Fe, but why not head over to Tijeras and NM 14 to take the Turquoise Trail, a less-travelled behind-the-mountain path to Santa Fe. The road connects the semi-ghost towns of Golden, Madrid and Corralitos. The revived ghost town of Madrid is fun. Originally an old coal mining town, it has been rediscovered by artists and New Agers. Think funky charm, crystals and South American dishing. Weekend jazz and blues concerts have become popular.

The adobe architecture of Santa Fe may still remind you of the military compounds that were the foundation of the Spanish colonial outpost established in 1607. The city's preservation of historic buildings and a zoning code that mandates the Santa Fe's distinctive Spanish-Pueblo style of architecture has resulted in one of the most intriguing environments in the nation. Even big chain hotels in the area are wonderfully characterful.



To Market: A Gallup Indian woman, independent in her native costume, makes her way through market.



Market Value: Mountain Road in Santa Fe. In the background are mountains and historic adobe.



PHOTO: FREDERICK MANN

## From Oklahoma City to Dallas

Oklahoma City came into life in the wild and woolly days of tent cities and wildcat wells. It staggered in the devastation of the Dust Bowl and is now a bustling urban center where shopping, restaurants and cultural events thrive under city lights. For photos that capture the city's past with a pop, up Lincoln Avenue towards the Capitol Complex and arrange the family around the old derricks. They are the real thing, some of them still working. The place to be and be seen is the newly-renovated warehouse area. Blackbox, a great area for hand-crafted beers and Tea-Mex food.

You would clock about 30 miles on the Interstate from Oklahoma City to Dallas, but this is like country sparkling with waterfalls, creeks, massive rivers, scenic views, friendly towns and some of the best bars. Taking in the scenery, take time to wander the parks and small towns, there is lots to see along the way.

Plan on making the drive south a slow one. By following Hwy 77 you will drive past the University of Oklahoma where the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History has just opened.

The beautiful building now houses the largest collection of dinosaur artifacts outside the Smithsonian.

Continue on Hwy 77 into Davis and you will come to Turner Falls Park, site of a natural swimming hole led by a waterfall. Nearby you will find Cedarvale Botanical Gardens where there is a restaurant overlooking the river. Arbuckle Wilderness is a great place for children who will love the dinosaur park, camel rides, water slide and amusement rides.



Channel Surfing: The Chickasaw Canal in Oklahoma City is a popular, scenic site for tourists.

Slide east on Hwy 7 to see Sulphur, named for its sulphur and bromide springs, once visited for their medicinal value. Sulphur Springs Inn was built in 1911, and is the only original bathhouse still standing. It is quite an experience to have a massage relax in a sauna or soak in the hot and cool pools.

If you do not stop for the spa, at least visit the forests and cool waters of the Chickasaw National Recreation Area. Pull out a picnic basket beside the tumbling falls of Little Niagara or treat yourself to a dip in a freshwater lake or a mineral spring. From here Hwy 77 will take you down to Hwy 109 and Ardmore, home to the Greater Southwest Historical Museum. Artifacts from 20 states offer a thought-provoking look at life from Indian Territory times to the 1920s.



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where the art of pottery making was revitalized in the 19th century. The Pueblo's distinctive black-on-black style is world-famous, and there is a museum where you can buy pottery at the making spot. You can meet the artists or wander among cornrows. A fishing lake is stocked in the summer.

Take NM 4 to Whet Rock Overlook and a spectacular eagle's eye view of the Rio Grande. Next stop west is Bendable, where you can stroll past ancient cliff dwellings and ladders to step inside ancestral Pueblo ruins. Los Alamos, where two museums will pull you into the near-present with the story of the Manhattan Project and the creation of the world's first atomic bomb, is a side trip back onto Hwy 77.

Returning to NM 4, you will follow a gloriously scenic route through Valle Grande, a lush green valley that is the caldera of an ancient volcano to Gorgeo, an ancient Towa ruin and 19th-century Spanish mission church. For a refresher pause at the boiling waters of Jemez Springs. The large Jemez Pueblo offers handwoven arts, a history exhibit and a nature walk in a beautiful red rock setting. At San Ysidro, take NM 44 south to Coronado Monument and State Park. It is just west you back to Santa Fe. ■

PHOTO: CHRIS CORPUS

Absolutely the only way to explore is on foot. Start at the beautiful Santa Fe Plaza and simply wander between cafes, taverns and shops, delighting at the rich textures and curves of adobe and wood, the smell of woodsmoke drifting from chimneys, the muted colors against a turquoise sky. And don't forget, this is one of the country's largest art markets. Grand homes, new art galleries line busy Canyon Road.

Festival Santa Fe is a series of events running from June through to December, offering the best of American plays, opera, chamber music and flamenco dancing, as well as best days, wine festivals, markets. Yearly events include the 93rd Annual Rodeo (June 21 to 24), the Northern Indian Pueblos Arts & Crafts Show (July 15 to 16), and the largest juried Native American art show in the world, held at the Santa Fe Plaza. This year's dates are August 19 and 20.

The Georgia O'Keeffe Museum and shop is a popular destination just one among 250 art galleries and 11 museums. Check exhibits at the Palace of the Governors built in 1610 and the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture for historical perspectives.

For a one-day circular drive into the mountains, take the Jemez Mountains Trail, which starts on Hwy 30 west of Hwy 84 at Pajarito Pueblo. First stop is the San Geronimo Pueblo.



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**T**ake Hwy 77 south and exit at Hwy 70 for Murray Resort Park with its 18-hole golf course, hiking and cycling trails, campsites, guest cottages and more accommodations. It's all centered around Lake Murray, a spring-fed jewel on the edge of the Arbuckle Mountains. In the 1930s the lake was chosen for the governor's country retreat. Tucker Tower was built, but never used for its intended purpose. It is now a nature center.

You can circle around the lake to the tower, then take Hwy 77 south to Hwy 32 into the town of Maricopa and nearby Lake Texoma. The town's architectural centerpiece is the Love County Courthouse. The first courthouse built after statehood, it is topped with a clock dome. The Old Federal Court Building on Main Street is the county's oldest structure and now contains City Hall. The old county jail building now houses a military museum, and the former Santa Fe Depot is home to the Love County Pioneer Museum.

Make your way back to Hwy 32 and over the Red River to discover a Texas of small towns with beautifully restored town squares, historic houses, lakes and outdoor horse ranches.

Your first detour might be at Hwy 32 to explore Gainesville with its brick-lined square, historic homes and buildings.

For a heady glimpse of multimillion-dollar horse ranch country, head east 10 km south of Gainesville on Farm Road 1940 past to the small town of Tingo, then south on Hwy 321 for the best tour of spectacular ranches. Picturesque Lake Ray Roberts is on your right, and at Pilot Point you can turn west for a view of the lake, then take FM 1941 into Denton, where the closed County Courthouse is a real treasure. Remodeled back to its original glory, the somewhat Russian-looking building is worth a detour to the historic downtown square at Elm and Hickory.

Then it's 135E out of Denton, towards the glittering towers of Dallas.

Dallas, saggy of art galleries, theatres and concert halls is enormous. There are more than 150 museums, galleries and artistic attractions, and more than 10 live performances per night. The Dallas Museum of Art anchors the Arts District which includes the sterling Martin H. Meyerson Symphony Center.

You will find that the central business district is lively. Street life in the West End revolves around shops, restaurants, street art, music, baggy rules, music and a mix of old and new architecture.

The Neiman Marcus store at Commerce and Envy Streets is the original store, on its original site, a shoppers' Mecca, perhaps. For odd, unique and expensive clothes, jewellery, home furnishings, artwork, dining, clubs and live blues music you should go east to Deep Ellum, a happening neighborhood at night.

Incredibly, there is a Farmer's Market at the intersection of two freeways in downtown Dallas. The four-block open-air market is best visited early in the day for fresh fruits, vegetables and herbs for sale by some of the farmers who grow them.

On the other side of the freeway, Old City Park is a great oasis of relocated heritage homes against a background of sky-

scraping, several grand antebellum homes, an 18th-century log house, churches and commercial buildings, as well as demonstrations of turn-of-the-century crafts and skills.

Fair Park is to the southeast of downtown off I-35 a complex with seven major theatres, the Civic Garden Center, sports spectacles and concerts. Check what's happening at the Western Museum and go.

Set the adrenalin running at the Texas Sports Hall of Fame where more than 350 Texas sports heroes come to life. Film shows memorable moments in Texas college and professional sports. It is in the Metroplex area on the way to Fort Worth.

Fifty km west of Dallas you will find Cowtown, Atlas Fort Worth, famed for its Stockyards district. Each morning is Texas Longhorn cattle are corralled and down to the Trinity River's west fork to graze, recalling the great cattle drives of the 19th century. Cowlands give visitors a presentation on the vital role the cattle industry played in early Fort Worth. In the cultural district are museums, the Will Rogers Memorial Center featuring year-round horse and cattle shows, Fort Worth Botanic Gardens and kilometers of paved jogging and hiking trails along the Trinity River. ■

## Extreme Golf in Texas

**W**hen it comes to golf, few states can match the quality and diversity Texas offers. The Lone Star State is blessed with a variety of courses from first-class to the most challenging. Texas is home to some of the country's best golf courses, and the state's golf industry is thriving. Texas is a golfer's dream, and the dream has just turned to reality. In the heart of the state, there are courses named after the "Texas state, state star" legends. Veterans golf Arnold Palmer has partnered with Tour 18 Inc. to replicate 18 of golf's most famous holes and put them all into one course. They call this result a virtual Dream Team of golf holes.

Aerial photography and CAD technology have been used to reproduce golf holes that are uncanny replicas to some of America's most famous golf holes.



**Recreation** includes golfing, hunting, fishing, and more. The state's golf industry is thriving. Texas is a golfer's dream, and the dream has just turned to reality. In the heart of the state, there are courses named after the "Texas state, state star" legends. Veterans golf Arnold Palmer has partnered with Tour 18 Inc. to replicate 18 of golf's most famous holes and put them all into one course. They call this result a virtual Dream Team of golf holes.





## The next thing to Canada is Maine

**M**aine is America off the beaten path, and yet turning as it does between New Brunswick and Quebec, it is wonderfully accessible to eastern Canada. Driving from either Canadian province you will find yourself navigating over purple-hued mountains and between clear inland lakes. Maine is the perfect place to disappear for a day in the cool woods, go fishing, take a hike or just float around in fresh water.

For an inland drive south you would take I-95 south and angle across Maine between Bangor and Portland, but salt air will be your companion if you take U.S. Route 1 to dig and trip along the moody Atlantic coast from Bangor down to Brunswick. Pick up driving tips at tourist offices in communities along your route.

You will start with the stunning Greek revival homes of Belton and Seaside, then touch base with the past in the Penobscot Marine Museum, and its vast collection of artifacts from Maine's whaling industry. Just remember to save time for the shops and flea markets in the area known as Maine's antiquarian capital.

Check for sightings of wooden sailboats called Windjammers in Penobscot Bay as you drive towards the picturesque harbour of Camden. Once there drink at a breakfasting view of the mountains meeting the sea.

From here you will skirt unspoiled inlets and rocky headlands that can be glimpsed or explored by taking side trips from U.S. 1 as it heads south enjoying as you go a world of quiet Maine villages and surf crashing on rocky shores. Your last side trip should be down side road 27 to Boothbay Harbor, one of Maine's busiest resort towns with crooked streets, small shops and a frothy nightlife. It is a good place to hire a boat for seal watching, deep-sea fishing trips and sailing excursions.

In Bath look to the Maine Maritime Museum for an outstanding collection of seafaring memorabilia. From here the last leg of U.S. 1 takes you on to Brunswick and I-95 into Portland. Or perhaps detour to Freeport, known thanks to an 1800 independence treaty as the birthplace of Maine. It is also the birthplace (and of the L.L.Bean clothing empire, whose flagship store has stood on the same corner for 86 years. And while you are in town, stop by the Freeport Factory Store and the new L.L. Kids Store.

### The Maine Thing

There are many things to love about Maine. From the rugged coastline to the quiet inland lakes, from the historic lighthouses to the modern art galleries, Maine has something for everyone. And the best part is, it's all so close together.



In Portland you will discover the charms of an active seaport with the pleasures of art, dining out and a fabulous new indoors farmers' market hawking all the fresh produce of Maine from buffalo meat and potatoes to lobster and fresh fish.

A few blocks from the market, between Commercial Street and Congress you will find the old port, a neighbourhood of narrow cobblestoned streets lined with 19th-century brick and granite buildings. A departure point for fishing boats and passenger ferries, it is atmospheric all year round and known for its restaurants, boutiques, specialty stores and brew pubs. From here it is just a walk to the art districts with several galleries, the Maine College of Art and the Children's Museum of Maine. There interactive exhibits simulate Maine landscapes including a lobster boat at a fishing pier, a seining gill net tree for clamming and a darkly scary beer den. ■



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## Business

# Rescue in Jakarta

A Canadian banker battles corruption and waste

Like most Indonesian financial institutions, Bank Danamon has its name on an imposing glass office tower. And like most Indonesian banks, Danamon is bankrupt, taken over by the government when the economy crumbled during the 1997 Asian financial crisis. But Danamon, the third-largest bank in the world's fourth most populous country, a just a little bit different. Up in the president's 18th-floor office, with its view across Jakarta's orange-red roofs, a Canadian banker is trying to sort right everything that made his bank a giant, broke, corruption-riddled institution.

Miles Shuster has practically lived in his office for one long, grueling year as he prepares Danamon for a return to the private sector. It is a task rarely entrusted to foreigners in Indonesia. But Shuster, 58, born of hard-working Serbian immigrant stock in Leamington, Ont., is so far succeeded, even while laying off staff and firing most of the senior managers. A due to his success is that even though he is one of the most important Canadians in Jakarta, few in the Canadian community have heard of him. Shuster has been so low-key as to be almost invisible.

Married with three grown children back in Canada, Shuster is an old-school banker whose conservative ways fit on a frame kept slender by an eight-litre motor only running now. He would rather talk about integrity, responsibility and transparent corporate governance than derivatives. That is exactly what Danamon, and perhaps every other Indonesian bank, needs. To understand the depth of Indonesia's financial crisis, from which it is still recovering, is perhaps necessary to know only one thing: fixing Danamon alone will cost the government about \$12.2 billion. Every large bank and almost all of the

small ones were bust, along with many corporate debacles. The bailout will amount to about 75 per cent of the country's GDP. "There has never been a crisis of this magnitude anywhere," Shuster says in his quiet but assertive tone, his hands caked in his lips, fingers crossed. "This one is in the Guinness Book of Records."

Shuster loses his composure—only slightly—when he talks about the previous owners and managers, and how Danamon and other banks being merged with it dug themselves into a \$12-billion hole. "I know what is right and wrong," he says. "I know what's real and isn't." Danamon and other banks being merged with it dug themselves into a \$12-billion hole. "I know what is right and wrong," he says. "I know what's real and isn't." Danamon and other banks being merged with it dug themselves into a \$12-billion hole. "I know what is right and wrong," he says. "I know what's real and isn't."

Bankrupt companies were courted on the balance sheet at book value. Corruption was tolerated or ignored. Bankers asked exotic forms of Western financing without understanding how they worked.

What were the bank regulators? "They were in on it," says Shuster. A recent radical of the central bank says it, too, is a technical bankruptcy. As for foreign companies, Shuster says they were often motivated by the money to be made in Indonesia before the fall of Suharto in 1998. "They were all losing up," he says. "It was a big party."

The party is definitely over, leaving the government to pick up the pieces. But Shuster has high praise for the current, reform-oriented administration, and for the Indonesian Bank Resusc-

rating Agency, which now owns much of the country's economy (and appointed him). "They are prepared to tolerate someone like me who has no relevance for stealing and incompetence," he says. His plan to make Danamon as good as any Western bank got critical political support, even though it has meant laying off almost half of the 20,000 employees and closing half the branches. "There will be no surveillance between what it was and what it will be when we're finished," he says.

An Oxford graduate, Shuster arrived in Asia in the 1970s, and has worked in Manila, Hong Kong, London and Tokyo. He says what has added him most in turning around Danamon



without getting pushed out was what he learned from working in Japan, patience, humility, how to be part of a team. In Jakarta's Japanese culture, where confrontation and an aggressive manner are considered coarse, they were lessons well-learned. And it matters, he says, that he is a Canadian. "Write me wrong, write me as aggressive. That helps."

Though he has spent most of his career abroad, Canada is where Shuster will remain when the bank goes back to the private sector, perhaps by the end of the year. Finally, he will be able to tend the orchard and vines on his farm in Leamington, where his own 1000-acre

Shuster: *Time when a right and wrong, I know what's real and isn't.*

Warren Canagosa in Jakarta

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## The rights of the little guy

It's generally understood that one vote per person is the most fundamental component of political democracy. But the issue of what constitutes democracy when it comes to public companies and their shareholders is much less clear. Founding families often consolidate their grip on an enterprise by issuing multiple voting shares. And then there's the issue of large institutional investors, which frequently dictate the minority shareholder's agenda.

The emergence of rival takeover bids for Montreal-based Groupe Vidéotron Ltd. highlights just how easily the interests of individual investors can be trampled in a clash of titans. The Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, Canada's biggest pension fund manager, has joined forces with media conglomerate Quebecor Inc. to overturn the takeover bid by Rogers Communications Inc. for Vidéotron. Toronto-based Rogers' offer has been embraced by the Chagnon family, which controls 72 per cent of the multiple voting shares. The Caisse is executing the terms of a private shareholder agreement it cut with the Chagnons in past years, giving it veto rights over a change in corporate structure. And while these powerful alliance binds for ascendancy, there has so far been no mention of what is best for the smaller investors who also own Vidéotron shares.

Attention to their interests is, however, crucially important. After a decade of delegating portfolio control to mutual and pension funds, the little guy is back in the game, thanks to an expanded bid market and the proliferation of online trading and discount broker services.

Still, a lot has changed since the retail investor last had a discernible presence in the Canadian stock scene. During the 1990s, the big funds built up their power in a vacuum: They slipped into the role of corporate watchdogs, keeping a sharp eye on management performance and practices, as budget cuts forced regulatory bodies and account-hungry individuals to demand. Furthermore, the size of institutional portfolios grew steadily—even while 80 per cent of their funds had to be invested domestically, under federal law. Seeking new avenues for return in relatively small, illiquid Canadian capital markets, they became increasingly aggressive and proactive, developing, purchasing banking arms, entering corporate management and engineering takeovers.

With total assets in mutual pension funds now pegged at about \$500 billion—and public-sector funds accounting for about half of that amount—they will have become difficult to ignore. The question is this: As these funds have become active players rather than passive investors, has their power become excessive?

The Caisse de dépôt et placement is somewhat unique

among public-sector pension plan managers, partly because of its \$105-billion portfolio, and partly because of the openly political function it has served in endorsing the incumbent bid for Quebec civil service. Still, the Ontario Teachers Pension Plan Board wields \$68 billion, while the B.C. government's investment arm and the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement Board (OMERS) control \$58 billion and \$35 billion respectively. As the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board gradually begins to invest in equities, another \$90 billion of institutional clout will enter the market over the next seven years.

For the most part, according to shareholder rights experts like Toronto securities lawyer Philip Aronson, these powerful groups have been a positive force in Canadian business. In particular, he cites their progress in pushing ahead with corporate governance issues, which have improved accountability among senior managers and directors in many cases. "Historically, they've refrained from deviating into social or special issues," says Aronson. "Unlike their American counterparts, they've stuck to the business of improving shareholder return."

Still, conflicts of interest between the large funds and other minority investors have started to surface in the recent mergers and acquisitions boom. Last year, regulators took the Caisse to task for launching a "takeover" bid for the shares of Cambridge Shopping Centres Ltd. The Caisse already held 43 per cent of the real estate company's stock, and its low-ball bid applied pressure on smaller shareholders to tender their stock, or be left holding an illiquid remainder.

In cases where a takeover is playing out, the large funds have the financial clout to make or break almost any bid by throwing the one that suits their agenda—as in the Caisse's decision to back Quebecor against Rogers. And where the funds themselves are building directly for assets, as with the Teachers' takeover of Toronto-based real estate firm Cadillac Fairview earlier this year, they have such deep pockets that they seldom face any competition.

Of course, these powerful institutions ultimately represent an aggregation of individual investors, and they will continue to have an important role in capital markets. In setting out its conditions for Air Canada buy-out of Canadian Airlines, for example, Ontario instructed Air Canada to increase its ownership limit, allowing institutional investors a larger stake and a louder voice.

But if their market is to remain healthy and balanced, small investors must have a voice as well. The mouse may never roar, but he should get the chance to speak, instead of squeak.



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## Prices for crude head down

Drivers can finally look forward to some relief from spiralling gasoline prices after most members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed to a moderate increase in production. Nine of the 11 member states agreed to a production increase of about seven per cent, and even Iran, which refused to join the agreement, said it will hike production somewhat to protect its sales. Prices for a barrel of crude began to fall almost immediately, settling at \$36 (U.S.) last week, down from this year's high of \$34. Consumers, however, are unlikely to notice significant declines until after the peak demand months of June and July.

In the meantime, relief could come from an unexpected quarter. Last



Picking up in Winnipeg, relief is in sight

week, Finance Minister Paul Martin said the federal government may reduce the tax it levies on gasoline—40 cents a litre—if the provinces are willing to do the same. Provincial taxes range from nine cents in Alberta to 16.5 cents in Newfoundland.

## Tech stocks take a hammering

**Choose your market cliché:** Volatile. Roller-coaster. Whatever, U.S. and Canadian exchanges took a lot of the air out of the tech-stock bubble last week. The S&P 500 index fell 6.5 per cent in three days, before recovering a little on Friday. The tech-heavy Nasdaq was down 7.8 per cent in the week, the Dow 1.7 per cent. Legendary mutual fund boss Julian Robertson of New York City-based Tiger Management decided to close six key funds, declaring, "There is no point in subjecting our investors to risk in a market which I frankly do not understand."

## Financial Outlook

**On paper,** Canadians are getting wealthier. Statistics Canada reported every Canadian was, in effect, worth \$96,600 in 1997, up from \$92,500 in

1998. The figure is arrived at by subtracting the \$300 billion net foreign debt from the value of Canada's tangible assets—\$3.3 trillion—and dividing the remainder by the total population. Social critics, however, say the wealth gap serving Canadians is widening. StatCan also reported that the country's net institutional investment position—what foreigners own in Canada, less what Canadians own elsewhere—improved last year for the fourth time in five years. The difference was \$300 billion, smaller by eight per cent. Americans account for about 75 per cent of Canada's foreign ownership.

## Videocon war heats up

Montréal-based media company Quebecor Inc. formulated an offer to acquire at \$5.9 billion for Groupe Vidéotron Ltd., Québec's largest cable company. Shareholders had postponed voting on a previous all-stock deal, valued at \$5.6 billion, proposed by Rogers Communications Inc. of Toronto to acquire Vidéotron from the Clugston family. Quebecor's bid is supported by the powerful *Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec* pension fund, but opposed by the Clugstons.

## Telus to buy Quebec Tel

Expiration-minded BCT-Telus Communications Inc. of Burnaby, B.C., will pay \$585 million for 70 per cent of Quebec-Tel Group Inc. of Rimouski, the second-largest phone company in Québec. Telus said the deal will give it a national presence.

## Billions for Bombardier

Montréal aircraft maker Bombardier Inc. snagged a \$2.9-billion order for regional jets from two subsidiaries of Alberta-based Delta Air Lines Inc. Bombardier said it was the largest order ever of regional aircraft.

## Cinar suit suspended

The new management at Montreal-based animator Cinar Corp. reached an agreement with a Bahamian-based investment company, giving Cinar the right to review some of the company's investment records. The deal may allow Cinar to track down money it says was invested without its permission by former officers of the company. Cinar's lawsuit to recover about \$112 million of the missing funds was suspended by the Bahamian Supreme Court pending the review.

## East drives West

DaimlerChrysler AG of Germany struck a deal with Japan's Mitsubishi Motors Corp. that will create the world's third-largest automaking group. The \$2.3-billion deal will give Daimler a controlling interest in Mitsubishi, and inject more than \$2 billion into the debt-ridden Japanese compact-car specialist.



## Access to Information Investor Education Week 2000

Investor Education Week is a joint effort by the investment community to inform investors about the products and strategies available to meet their financial goals ... Our industry is dedicated to offering investors both the tools and the knowledge they require to make informed investment decisions.



Tom Winkler, IFIC President and CEO



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## Access to Information: Investor Education Week 2000

New financial products like clone funds and new strategies such as day trading make becoming knowledgeable about your personal financial choices and options increasingly imperative.

Emphasizing the importance of investor education, securities regulators and the investment industry have declared April 10-14 Investor Education Week. International in scope, the Canadian campaign is spearheaded by the Canadian Securities Administrators (CSA), an association of provincial and territorial securities regulators. Regulators and industry groups such as The Investment Funds Institute of Canada (IFIC), the national trade association for the investment funds industry, are offering investors the opportunity to empower themselves with knowledge through a variety of national, regional and local events.

This is the third annual Investor Education Week and builds on last year's successful themes, Risk Factors Affecting Your Investments and Teaching Our Children. This year the theme is Market Access in the 21st Century.

A number of industry participants, including IFIC, the CSA, the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC), the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSE), the Canadian Bankers Association and the Investor Learning Centre have teamed up to offer Canadian investors opportunities to learn about their personal finances.

"As more and more people invest, education is be-

coming a crucial aspect of investor protection. This fact is underscored by the changing nature of the marketplace," states David Bates, Chairman of the OSC.

In addition to the educational stories contained in this advertising feature, there are a number of other opportunities for Canadians to learn more about investing, including:

- Release of new educational tools such as brochures, fact sheets and other public information by IFIC, the CSA and other financial industry participants.

- A Junior Achievement blitz which will see volunteers from IFIC, OSC and TSE visit Toronto-area schools to offer JAS one day personal economics program on April 10.

- The Investor Learning Centre will pilot a school program in all 10 provinces to Grade 10 and 11 students. The ILC is also offering free seminars in Calgary and Toronto.

- The TSE hosts a free Investor Forum at Stock Market Place in Toronto on Tuesday April 11, that will include speakers and an exhibitors' area where investors can pick up free investor information from a variety of objective sources such as IFIC.

- Media and public appearances by industry leaders.
- Leading into Investor Education Week, the CSA will air public announcements in the form of infomercials of public service announcements on television stations Much Music and Musique Plus. These spots will target young people, who will also be encouraged to visit a special micro-site at [www.muchmusic.com](http://www.muchmusic.com).

For free educational information on mutual funds and investing strategies turn to IFIC's Investor Education page on its web site at [www.ific.ca](http://www.ific.ca)



## Clarifying Clone Funds

Last May a new type of mutual fund was introduced in Canada that allows investors more access to international markets. These are now under full review to get into these clone funds. Here is a primer on this innovative new product.

Clone fund managers can link the returns of actively managed foreign mutual funds by investing up to 10 per cent directly in the fund they are trying to mimic and choosing not to invest futures contracts from financial institutions based on the value of the underlying funds' assets. The fund will hold most of its assets in Canadian money market instru-

ments, maintaining Canadian content as well. If the value of the underlying fund goes up, the financial institution pays the clone fund the difference, paying the value of the clone fund up to 10%. If the value of the international fund goes down, the clone fund pays the financial institution the difference, limiting the loss in value of the underlying fund. Clone funds are only available for registered accounts due to higher costs (usually a per cent to 4 per cent of buying the underlying fund's investment expense ratio). Despite the benefits of potentially higher returns associated with international investing, there are a number of unique risks with clone

funds. Futures contracts or other derivatives are bought through a third party. A fund that buys them is exposed to the risks of that third party such as insolvency of the firm or danger of bankruptcy. As well, futures are short-term contracts and there is no guarantee of future availability of a particular type of contract. Foreign exposure has its own risks such as the danger that the Canadian dollar could increase in value compared to the currency of the foreign country. This would cause the returns to be lower when repatriated to Canadian dollars. There are also risks associated with dealing in foreign securities. Such risks include difficulty in regulatory, accounting and trading practices in the various countries



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## Access to Capital Markets for All Canadians

Mutual funds provide a simple, accessible and affordable way for average Canadians to access capital markets both domestically and internationally. The mutual fund industry has grown tremendously over the past decade. At the beginning of the 1990s there was \$25 billion invested in mutual funds with members of The Investment Funds Institute of Canada. At the end of the decade that number had skyrocketed to \$400 billion as confidence in the product continues to grow. There are some very strong arguments for investors to choose mutual funds to reach their financial objectives:

### 1 Access to Professional Money Management

The average consumer has neither the time nor the expertise to conduct in-depth investment research. Mutual fund portfolio managers know the people who run the companies they invest in. They have the resources to do the research needed to identify appropriate investments.

### 2 Access to Solid Returns

The long-term returns of mutual funds outpaced returns for fixed income investments. For example, the 10-year average annual compound return for Canadian large cap growth funds was 11.6 per cent at the end of January 2000. Meanwhile, the 10-year return for Canada Savings Bonds was 5.8 per cent and the average return for five-year GICs was 6.8 per cent. (Source: Paltrack)

### 3 Access to Diversified Investing

Mutual funds invest in a broad range of securities. Mutual fund unit holders can benefit from diversification usually available only to investors wealthy enough to buy significant positions in a wide variety of securities.

### 4 Access to an Affordable Investment

The costs involved in buying mutual funds are well worth the services and benefits provided to the investor — diversification, professional management,

record keeping, liquidity. There are fees in any investment product. For example, a GIC has no variable management fee, but you pay an equivalent indirect fee of approximately 1.5 per cent to two per cent. This indirect fee, called a spread, represents the profits and administrative costs of the institution issuing the GIC.

### 5 Access to the Best Advice

Financial advisers must have their client's best interests at heart when recommending a fund. Under current regulations, mutual fund advisers must recommend funds that suit the client's individual goals and objectives. As well, provincial regulations mandate full and transparent disclosure about the fund's objectives, risk levels and fees in the Simplified Prospectus document prepared for each fund.

### 6 Easy Access to Your Money

You can easily sell your fund units any time you need cash. Fund companies are required to buy back redeemed units whereas shares sold on the open market can only be sold if there is a demand for that stock.

### 7 Access to a Wide Range of Choices

With over 1,200 mutual funds available, there is a wide range of mutual fund choices with varying fees. Management fees, though, are not the only consideration when choosing a fund. If a fund is offering superior returns, a higher than average management fee may not be an issue.

### 8 Access to Enhanced Product Safety

There is an extensive regulatory framework in place to help safeguard mutual fund investments. There is no protection against market risk. However, in accordance with provincial laws, a mutual fund's assets belong to the fund and its security holders, not to the trustee, the manager or portfolio manager who will be responsible for administrative and portfolio investment decisions. In addition, a Canadian chartered bank or trust company, which is protected under banking and trust laws, acts as custodian, holding the assets of the fund.

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Developing and then following a financial plan is like planning a road trip with a detailed, comprehensive map. You know where you are going and how to get there. The financial planning process even deals with bumps in the road by consulting risk management as a key element of the plan. "Unless you have insurance to cover any risks you may face, all the planning in the world doesn't mean a thing," says Roy Marford, a professional financial planner with Equinox Investor Services in Vancouver, B.C., who has earned the Certified Financial Planner™ professional designation.

Marford says one of the main problems facing investors right now is that there is so much information available, many investors feel that can do "it" themselves. But the financial planning process is a lot more than choosing investments. "There properly a comprehensive financial plan looks at the big picture," he says. Irene Vassallo, CFP, a planner with Investors Group in

Waterloo, Ontario, says: "The financial planning process examines a person's current financial situation, examines where they want to go, and builds a plan to get them there."

Certified Financial Planners evaluate every aspect of a person's financial situation from budgeting to insurance, estate planning, personal assets, savings, investments and taxes. Lillian Lapinski, CFP, a planner with The Financial Planning Group in Calgary, says: "Professionals with the Certified Financial Planner designation have knowledge of all the elements involved in financial planning and know how they all fit together to the benefit of the consumer."

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"When dealing with a planner who has earned the CFP you know you are dealing with someone who has been trained, examined and who follows ethical standards," says Marford.

To find a financial planner with the Certified Financial Planner designation nearest you visit FPSC's web site at [www.cfp-ca.org](http://www.cfp-ca.org).

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Ross Laver

## Hello, is anybody home?

**Inattentive salespeople, abusive waiters and retail clerks** whose product knowledge is nil but nonverbal. Sound familiar? These days, complaints about poor customer service are ubiquitous. It's enough to make some people want to stay home and do their shopping on the Internet.

Unfortunately, the *stratos online* isn't necessarily any better. It might even be worse.

Case in point: I recently bought a new computer monitor from a well-known Canadian online store that promised delivery in 14 days or less. In fact, the only postage thing about the firm was the speed with which it billed my credit card.

Two weeks passed with no sign of the monitor and no indication of when to expect it. Finally, I sent an e-mail to customer service. The Web site said to expect a reply in 48 hours, but it took five days before an unenthusiastic worker (the message was signed "CS3") wrote back to say they were looking into the delay. Four more days passed with no information, so I decided to call the company's toll-free hotline, according to the site, friendly staffers were standing by and would be "more than happy" to assist me. For chance. When I finally reached my way through a voicemail maze to the right department, I discovered it was impossible to speak to a live person. Instead, a recorded message curtly instructed callers to submit their questions via e-mail "for faster service."

OK, so it's unfair to extrapolate from a single bad experience. In my view, though, the annoyance shown by that retailer is a sign of a deeper problem. In the offline world, people often get the feeling that the companies with which they do business would prefer not to deal with them as humans. Along comes the Web and age it eliminates the need for person-to-person contact. The order is taken, the products are shipped out (even my monitor showed up eventually) and payment is handled electronically. You can just hear the busy chattering in the background: "At last we can get stuff without having to deal with those annoying customers."

It's that what e-commerce is all about—a market without people! Right now, that's how many companies are approaching it. The culture of the Web is all about one-way communication, very true interactivity—the kind that goes beyond placing an order and sending in a credit card number—as the last thing many companies really want. Their Web sites function as slick, depersonalized brochures, as

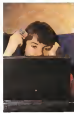
placards and minicams to most corporate mischievous statements.

Fortunately for these companies, help is at hand. It takes the form of a new book, *The Charlatan MoneySense*, written by four U.S. consultants and technology gurus. Its central premise is that the Web changes how people and companies interact, in ways that most businesses don't understand. Corporations tend to focus on the technological side of e-commerce, but in reality the fancy bells and whistles are the least important elements of a successful online business relationship. *The Charlatan MoneySense* holds that the Web is actually closer in spirit to an ancient bazaar, a place where people get together to talk and trade stories, to buy things and be served. Over the past 200 years, industrialization, mass production and mass media imposed a vast chasm between buyers and sellers. Now, the Web is bringing them back into direct contact, with profound implications for both.

*The Charlatan MoneySense* begins life, appropriately enough, at a Web site. In March of 1999, its four authors declared a digital revolution by posting their own version of Martin Luther's 95 theses, the document that ignited the Protestant Reformation. Their thesis (available at [www.charlatan.com](http://www.charlatan.com)) begins with a simple statement—"Markets are conversations!"—and goes on to argue that, thanks to the Web, people are becoming smarter, better informed and more demanding of the corporations that aspire to serve them. To its

these customers' own, companies need to can the sterile PR, happy talk and begin communicating in language that is natural, open and honest. Just as important, they will have to abandon the top-down management style that concentrates employees from talking directly to customers in their own voices. "Markets do not want to talk to flacks and lackeys," rule number 62 asserts. "They want to participate in the conversations going on behind the corporate firewall." Another rule states, "Don't worry you can still make money. That is, as long as it's not the only thing on your mind."

Of course, money is the only thing on most companies' minds, which is why the vision of *The Charlatan MoneySense* is sure to be dismissed by many as a utopian, perhaps even dangerous, fantasy. Corporations that do so, however, are taking a big risk. They're gambling that the Internet has changed the mechanics of consumption without, in the process, changing the expectations and behaviour of consumers.



Online: not business as usual



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PHOTO

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# MoneySense

For Canadians Who Want More

The small screen goes voyeuristic,  
Darwinian and interactive

# PEEPING TOM TELEVISION

By Robert Shoppard

It was both a game show and real life, and sometimes it was hard to see where one ended and the other began. For 100 days, from Sept. 22 to Dec. 30 of last year, nine people in their hormone-driven 20s and early-30s were locked in a house in suburban Amsterdam, their every move, their every dalliance, filmed by 83 cameras and broadcast daily on Dutch television and over the Internet. Perfect strangers, they had been chosen to represent the desired demographics of the TV station's viewers.

And most of what they did was pretty boring. They talked endlessly among themselves. They had to complete random tasks like keeping a fire burning for seven days or learning all of Halliwell's 99 portal codes by heart. But then, somehow, love—or at least what passes for love in the electronic age—erupted in what even the corrupting eye of the television camera couldn't quite reach. This was not emergency-room nurse Doris marrying supposed-cashier/killerman Rick—right unseen—on a show that was a cross between a heavy puppet and *The Price Is Right*. This was Bart, a young soldier just back from peacekeeping duties in Bosnia, falling for Sabine, a fitness instructor with long blond braids. And—to the delight of the viewing audience—the attraction was clearly mutual.

But that relationship, too, was doomed from the start. This was a game show, after all, one with the ironically hip name of *Big Brother*. Every few weeks, the group was to select two

of their number for expulsion, and viewers would decide by voting over the Internet which of the two had to go. The last contestant in the house would win 250,000 Dutch guilders, roughly \$160,000. So, in October, when the other housemates grew jealous of the sparks developing between Bart and Sabine, they nominated the two of them for expulsion.

Viewers, by now fixated and numbering in the millions, saw Sabine leave. But, unknown—as were the other contestants—of the popularity of their program (even on rival stations), talk shows analyzed *Big Brother*'s woeful anguish to the ever-present camera: "All of a sudden, not only the people in the house but the audience takes your girlfriend away from you." And when the two spent their final and final night together before Sabine's forced departure, the national cameras, catching every glance and twitch of the blonde, more than just a personal relationship was consummated. So, too,



was a new sub-genre of television—voyeuristic, relentlessly Darwinian and interactive. Call it Peeping Tom TV.

*Big Brother*'s success is spawning a host of clones and variations around the world; the success wave is a tide of "reality-based" television that took off a year ago with the debut of the high-stakes game show. In the process, the family TV is metamorphosing from a comforting electronic hearth into an aggressive probe prying into closets of rudimentary folk. Marshall McLuhan's global villagers are peering in the bedroom windows of an ever-increasing group of contestants willing to check their personal privacy at the door.

Where is mainstream TV going with all this orchestrated voyeurism? No one is quite sure. In Germany, television authorities, church groups and some politicians are—shades of the early days of rock 'n' roll—trying to ban the just-launched German edition of *Big Brother* on the grounds that

it is degrading to have humans on constant display. We're in a zoo. But even if they succeed, that won't stop a fully Americanized version of *Big Brother* taking over the airwaves for 100 straight nights on CBS this summer, or the smaller Canadian production houses that are gearing up similar offerings for the specialty channels, or the sense that, once again, TV is about to move the cultural yardsticks.

**Reality shows** take many forms. At the benign end are "docu-soaps," ongoing documentaries, often with the same characters reappearing, about pet lovers or cruise-ship vacationers. Then there are the more macabre day-in-the-life stories drawn from real police arrests (COPS), and dramatically presented game shows like *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, a Las Vegas-style reality play about negotiation. At the bizarre extreme are super-covered programs like *Big Brother*—or like *Survivor*, for which CBS "shipwrecked" 16 carefully selected



market but have no place to carry the headline gubbers like *Big Brother* or *Survivor*—at least not yet. Nine months in the pre-view and auction for the summer fall, and anything can happen. "We're keeping our options open," says Doug Hoover, Global's national vice-president for programming. "Right now, I don't see these kinds of shows being a main staple of our diet."

Still, few TV executives doubt that a new, voyeuristic genre has a foothold, particularly among the audience of the future: Cablecast Life Network, a subsidiary of the Toronto production house Alliance Atlantis Broadcasting, airs 14 hours of reality-disco-soaps a week in prime time, and even the CBC is picking up two reality shows for next season, including one based on real-life operations at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children called *Little Miracles*. But these are kinder, gentler forms for the most part—consider a voyeuristic, if you will. And there does seem to be a significant cultural divide: The U.S. networks commission shows



Conner and Rockwell in *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?* CBS (below) *studiocity* tapes



with to see and praise the cinematic results of the world at their lairs. Those in the electronically poor neighborhoods have to make do with whatever's on.

**Whatever's on**, of course, does not necessarily have to be a Roman circus—just internet. This fall, Life Network is planning to broadcast a 13-part series, produced by Montreal-based Cinefil, following 10 women of different ages, backgrounds and social situations through their pregnancies. Two-person camera crews will film the key events—the baby showers, the last day on the job, doctor's visits. The producers may also give the women small cameras to record their own feelings at these private moments—video diaries, to be spliced into the story. "We always let the characters see the film before the final cut," says Cinefil's producer Glen Subman, a disco-soap specialist. "They can let us change. Usually they don't or they just want something to exist. The whole process is based on mutual trust and respect." The participants in these documentaries are never called actors. For casting is important and can sometimes take up the bulk of the production time. Often, says Subman, people like their intimate stories being told—"It seems to satisfy an inner need. Sometimes something happens while we're filming and they tell us to go away. Sometimes it's a healing process. The camera becomes a bit of a therapist."

Look closely and Life's cadre of reality shows can be seen at the heart of the popular drama: emergency room documentaries are the real-life equivalent of ER; real-life housewives mirror *Friends*. The distinction lies on a broader scale: how well the women at *Millionaire* any difference from those lucky few who act, it seems daily, on a co-existing stock market? Are the survivors of *Survivor* or *Big Brother* of a different stripe than those who climb the greasy pole of business or public life, caring aside friends and former allies on the way to the top? TV capturing real life, or TV inventing real life? All that can be said for sure is that *Big Brother* is watching. And he's staring on your couch. ■

# WHO DOESN'T WANT TO WATCH REGIS?

An astonishing 32 million North Americans watch Philbin's show

By Andrew Phillips

OK, contestants: how many Americans have tuned in to at least one episode of *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?* Is it A) one million, B) a half, C) a half, or D) three-quarters?

And how much will ABC television pay Regis Philbin to bring his endearing combination of snarkiness and sincerity to the runway for show next season? A) \$1 million, B) \$5 million, C) \$10 million, or D) \$20 million?

Want to poll the audience? Phone a friend! Is this year (pssst) final season?

More to the point, how sick are you of people who will think "final answer" is a clever thing to say a good few months after *Millionaire* vanished from supreme summer-replacement access to landlady television phenomenon, with a host of once chosen contestants clamoring up prime time? For the record, the answer to both questions is D—surprising, 74 percent of Americans have watched the show, and ABC has reportedly agreed to pay up \$20 million (U.S.) for the services of the miniseries known as "Regis."

He's cheap at the price. An astonishing 29 million U.S. viewers on average tune in to *Millionaire* on Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday nights, with another three million catching it on CTV in Canada. Other landlady shows have made the television landscape: *Wheel of Fortune* in the 1970s. *Clown* in the '80s. *Seinfeld* in the '90s. But *Millionaire* took only weeks to transform ABC from a perennial ratings also-ran into the No. 1 American network. ABC has used a host of boost tactics: shows in its lineup and to destroy an rival's potential by scheduling it opposite them. And the revenue windfall from its success—as much as \$200 million this season alone—is a big factor in a sharp rebound in the stock



Scene from the show with Philbin (right). The men who saved ABC

price of The Walt Disney Co., ABC's parent company. No wonder that during a recent taping of *Millionaire* at network headquarters in Manhattan, executive producer Michael Davies went down on one knee in front of Regis and introduced him to the audience as "the man who single-handedly saved ABC."

For the severely media-deprived, hand a quick primer on the show: ABC imported the concept from Britain, copying everything from a set that looks like a stripped-down version of the bridge of the Starship Enterprise to the cruddy flashing lights that separate segments and the instant clasp-down sound track that plays as contestants agonize over their answers. Starting with a \$100,000 prize, they must answer 15 increasingly difficult questions to reach the grand prize of \$1 million. Of the 178 contestants who have made it into the "hot seat" opposite Regis, only three have gone all the way.

That's the whole show—simplicity itself. And all it takes to produce. Aside from prize money—just over \$14 million so far—and Philbin's increasingly hefty paycheck, costs are low (an estimated \$500,000 an hour), making it far less expensive than a top prime-time drama like *ER* or

## For some people, life may not have meaning until they have actually been on television

like *When Good Men Go Bad* while Canada produces *Degrassi* Josh, a documentary series about working dogs.

Most of the new generations of reality shows have a significant audience or Internet counterpart, a flip site, some say, reveals essential virtual-reality TV whereby viewers can inject themselves into a fantasy setting from the comfort of their own homes. The Internet is already chockablock with an own version of *Reality TV*—hundreds of sites with fuel Web cameras intended to capture any number of ordinary or profound occurrences. A woman gave birth on the

Net once. A young couple once premeditated to film their first act of intercourse. In Cambridge, B.C., Richard Hollingsworth

has Web-attached video cameras mounted in his living room, dining room, office and bedroom to show the life of an ordinary family man with five children who happens to be infected with the virus that causes AIDS. In a nod to doctors, viewing hours are posted daily.

With five eyes, cables the size of a human hair able to deliver a million channels of television connectivity, the future is wide open for anyone with a digital camera and a new idea. "What

www.mylifechannel.com  
for links to other sites

## As with Ed Sullivan and Bonanza, game shows attract the whole family to the television

The *Sapnews*, which can cost as much as \$15 million per episode. So what's the appeal?

It's not just the prize money, inside the legions of *Millionaire* devotees, though that obviously helps. A staggering 250,000 people call a special ABC hotline every day trying to get on the show. In *Conan*, please, only U.S. residents are eligible. You have to really want to ride it. An *Kuon* called almost every night from November until February, when he was selected as a contestant. He finally made it onto *Millionaire* in March. A 42-year-old neurologist from Princeton, N.J., Kraus won \$32,000 before stumbling on this head-scratcher: what is *Mpule Koech*'s best known for? (The correct answer? Winning the 1999 Miss Universe contest. Philbin once apologized for that one.)

The money will come in very handy. Kraus agreed a few days after his appearance, but the left all that propelled him

"in a lot of ways, *Millionaire* is like a real people soap opera." The audience roots for the contestants and identifies with them, hence the easy questions. But, says Kraus, it's not really as simple as it looks at home. Sitting under the lights, with brights from Regis, was an ordeal. "I was hyperventilating. I couldn't breathe, couldn't talk. I had to reach for the water before I could say anything."

He's not alone. Bill Ferguson, a 35-year-old contractor from Chicago, also won \$32,000 on the night Kraus was a contestant (he was derailed when he guessed that zinc is the main ingredient in a U.S. five-cent piece's support). Ferguson, too, recalled it as something of a trial. "Sitting in that chair, your mind isn't as nimble. You don't have the comfort level you have at home." Why do so many watch? "It's sitting back and watching people react," he ventures. "They like to say, 'Look at that idiot. I could have answered that.'"

Another guess: it's not so much what people are watching, but who they're watching it with. Producers are finding that game shows are one of the few games that can get the whole family to gather in front of the TV, so they did decades ago to watch *The Ed Sullivan Show* or *Bonanza*. Fox, television executives have aimed their shows at ever-wider demographics, groups (preteens, teens, women 25 to 49, and so on). Fans of *Millionaire* say everyone from the kids to grandpas can enjoy an hour of good clean fun. (Recall Kraus, attending the taping during a visit to New York City from his home in Memphis, Tenn., calls the show's success a sign that "we're not so far gone as I thought. Most of the other shows are so horrible. This helps keep the whole family together.")

That translates into the holy grail for advertisers—a huge mass audience hit of the kind the networks used to be able to deliver regularly before the days of at least 50 cable channels in every home. And it may be a hopeful sign for those concerned about declining cultural standards that *Millionaire*'s more vulgar answers have not done nearly as well. Fox TV's knockoff, usually titled *Good*, has languished in the ratings. Another Fox effort, *Who Wants to Marry a *Millionaire**?, emboldened even the network that pioneered reality-based trash like *Willie's Animal*.

Who *Wants to Be a *Millionaire**, in contrast, has achieved what few shows do—it has maintained the consciousness of its audience. How far has it gone? So far that a winner in a federal court case in Los Angeles recently seemed to think he was a contestant on the show. The winner turned to a former colleague for help in answering a question, prompting a lawyer to remind him that only he could answer. This exchange followed:

Witness: "Can't ask?"

Lawyer: "No, you can't ask him."

Witness: "It's not like *Who Wants to Be a *Millionaire**?"

New chair scores. ■



# commute

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Scene from *Good*: the more vulgar questions have not done nearly as well

onto the show. "You are there watching on your couch, and you think, 'I could do that, too.' It doesn't look so hard." And in fact the questions—most of them, anyway—are the kind of things that any reasonably astute person might know. Certainly they're easier than those on the

Beth version of *Millionaire*, where no one has yet won the top prize. There, contestants are asked things like "what is the title of the third part of 'T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*'?" (Answer: "The Fire Sermon.") The dumbed-down American show poses questions like "how many full bags of wool are there in *Barbie's Black Sheep*?" (If you need to ask... ) The British company that insures both programs against paying out big prize money even if a lawsuit against ABC, complaining that the questions are too easy—prompting predictable barbs about the average IQ of Americans.

But that's just part of the program's attraction. It's the only prime-time show that features average folks, and realists there stare no less, for a few minutes. Clives, its producer, says that

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findings, we'd like to cite what we think are a few of the luxury aspects for such an impressive showing. They include a supple, hand-tailored leather and wood-trimmed interior, spacious head and leg room, and the low levels of cabin noise that have become the hallmark of this line automobile.

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Diane Francis

## Depression can strike anyone

People routinely use the word "depressed" colloquially, thus changing the real medical definition of the term. They say they are "depressed" about the weather. They say a movie is "depressing." But those usages are what some mental health professionals would label as "small-d" depression, describing a slight mood shift or a negative topic.

Such moods, however, should not be confused with clinical depression, or "Big-D" depression. Some experts say that as many as one out of every five persons will be afflicted with this debilitating and painful syndrome in their lifetime. And to those of us who have an afflicted loved one know only too well, "Big-D" depression involves severe mood changes, and loss of self-esteem and vitality.

Clinical depression is a diagnosis applied to any individual who is immobilized by mood for a period of at least two weeks. To some in the medical profession, depression is the number 1 health problem. "It's a prevalent, costly and deadly disease, and about seven per cent of the world's population suffer [all the time] from severe depression," explains Raymond DeBruin, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md., and an international expert on the disease. "It's widely distributed throughout the world's population and the genes involved are ancient genes, not mutated more recent ones. This means that when we were all living in caves, these were part of everyone's gene pool."

It is a physiological condition, not a character flaw as many people mistakenly believe. It is this basic misunderstanding that distinguishes those with the disease, making it worse. This also prevents proper diagnosis because victims and their friends and relatives often act as if only on the symptoms. It is as if they weren't going to their doctor when depressed, but men go to their barbers. Indeed, those suffering from depression are at a greater risk of becoming alcoholics—a misguided attempt at a kind of self-medication to numb psychic pain. Loved ones tend to deal with the alcohol abuse rather than the underlying depression. So does the alcoholic.

The same misunderstanding can apply in cases involving drug abuse. Depressed victims act as a greater risk of turning to cocaine or heroin, and then crime in order to afford the expensive, illegal narcotics they have become addicted to as a means of combating their depression.

Such symptoms—substance abuse, self-destructive behaviour and negativity—are not widely understood as diagnostic manifestations. Even family physicians sometimes deal away patients with physical complaints who are, in fact, depressed, when they should be referring them instead to psychiatrists who can prescribe antidepressant medications, or they should prescribe those drugs themselves.

Clinically depressed people are all around: many of the homeless are depression victims. So can be the maladjusted teenager, that kindly colleague or that unassuming neighbour who shuffles along the street. Depression is a hidden disease characterized by the inability to feel joy, be optimistic or take care of oneself. "Big-D" people populate our prisons. "Big-D" people populate our high schools and often remain undiagnosed until they kill themselves or others. On the other hand, depression can also be found among some of the world's most gifted people. "Mozart, Van Gogh and others afflicted from depression and were absolutely unable to produce when they were afflicted," says Dr. DeBruin.

Depressed brains do not function properly—they are plagued by chemical imbalances. One prominent theory is that depressed brains suffer the effect of serotonin inhibition. Serotonin is an enzyme that facilitates the transmission of signals within the brain, and the brains of many biologically depressed people have little or no serotonin compared with the general population. For some unknown reason, inhibition deems most of the serotonin. The result is that their brains were cut out, impeding the wires from transmitting emotions and rational thoughts. This is why victims feel empty, confused and unable to think clearly. Prevented from functioning normally, they then develop psychological problems because they are disabled when it comes to work or interpersonal relationships.

The good news about depression is that most cases are treatable with medication. Victims also require therapy to deal with the psychological problems suggested along the way. But for most of the afflicted, the cause is not an unhappy or neurotic childhood or a nasty family. The cause is physiological, inborn. But if depression remains unrecognized, scorned or ridiculed, it can significantly guarantee an unhappy and neurotic childhood and miserable adulthood.

We should discuss medical war against depression's debilitating and damaging impact. One psychiatrist has even said that Paul (a popular antidepressant) should be put in the drinking water, like fluoride. While such fear may be unrealistic, the fact is everyone from teachers to physicians, parents, grandparents and friends must learn to differentiate between "big-D" and "small-d." It is just as insensitive and unhelpful to look at a clinically depressed person to "get out of bed and get on with life" as it would be to say the same thing to someone with breast cancer or serious heart disease. Depression is probably the biggest single medical cause behind most human suffering. That's why we should be less judgmental about people around us who are miserable, and, instead, try to encourage them to seek help.

# When Money Meets Politics

In a system that actively encourages abuse, Big Tobacco uses every weapon at its disposal to save its business



*The corrosive influence of money on the democratic system is the subject of a new book by Aaron Freeman, 30, a founding director of Democracy Watch, an Ottawa-based advocacy group. In this excerpt from *Cashing In*, he looks at one of the most potent and best-financed lobbies in the capital, the "Tobacco Dream Team." These tobacco lobbyists have had considerable success in the fight to protect their business from lawsuits and antismoking laws. Although the percentage of Canadians who smoke has been declining for a decade, the industry's profits keep climbing—to \$1 billion a year.*



By Aaron Freeman

**An organized crime syndicate** succeeds when it uses illegal acts to ensure that people comply with whatever it is that the syndicate desires. Control over people is the source of the syndicate's power. Illegal activity is the tool used to obtain it.

The tobacco lobby is no different. It controls the lives of millions of people by addicting them to the product. It controls governments through sophisticated lobbying. And it controls public policy by manipulating public discourse. This extensive control, in turn, transforms what would ordinarily be an inefficient lobby into the most powerful stakeholder in Canada.

The tobacco syndicate has even engineered a \$1-billion tax cut for itself to trick U.S. tax authorities until December 1998, to uncover how tobacco companies had duped the Canadian government on the tax cut.

One tobacco company, Northern Brands International, owned by RJR-Nabisco, the U.S. parent of RJR-McDonald's, admitted selling 1.3 million cartons of Export A cigarettes to smugglers in 1994 and 1995 with, in the charge sheet, "wild blindness to or conscious disregard of the fact that these cigarettes would be fraudulently diverted" from their declared destinations, Russia and Taiwan.

In exchange for the company's admission, the U.S. attorney's office for the northern district of New York state agreed not to bring further charges against the company (The bargain does not bind other jurisdictions.)

Northern Brands was described by RJR-Nabisco's lawyer as "an entirely Canadian operation," despite being incorporated in Delaware. The company is no longer active.

Meanwhile, the tobacco lobby in Ottawa pushed the Liberals for a tobacco tax cut on the grounds that Canada's oil-

streedy high cigarette taxes were creating an incentive to smuggle cigarettes from the United States, resulting in a major law-enforcement problem. They succeeded in 1994, in reducing taxes. In Ontario alone, government revenue from cigarette taxes fell from \$1.1 billion to \$390 million.

Nor bad work if you can get it. Tens of millions of dollars through an illegal smuggling ring, then go to government for a tax cut to help fight illegal smuggling.

In 1999, U.S. courts demanded a \$5 trillion (U.S.) fine and the return of \$10 million (U.S.) in customs that should have been paid on the Canadian cigarettes. By that year, the tax cut, a lower Canadian dollar and price increases in the



Martin (left), Specter, Kirby: an industry that kills 40,000 Canadians a year and addicts the young, has a major money problem on its hands

United States—the result of multibillion-dollar settlements between tobacco companies and state governments, which treat the companies to recoup the health costs associated with smoking—mean that cigarettes were actually up to \$15 a carton higher in U.S. border states than in Canada. Nearly a year after the U.S. government fined the tobacco companies, the Canadian government finally launched a lawsuit against the same companies over the Canadian smuggling ring. The government used in U.S. courts, using the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, which allows for triple damages against defendants found guilty of making money from criminal activity.

Needless to say, a foreign-controlled industry that kills 40,000 Canadians a year and replenishes the market by addicting newer, particularly young, customers has a major image problem on its hands. Especially in the face of a federal government and provincial governments that have been

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making efforts to force the industry to account for the massive health and economic impact of its product.

In recent years, the federal government has greatly tightened restrictions on tobacco advertising and sponsorship. A new federal Tobacco Act allows for tobacco advertising, but only in "adult" venues. It further limits promotion of cigarettes in the places where they are sold, and bans certain sales promotions such as coupons, gifts and the use of tobacco logos on clothing. And the most contentious provision limits promotion of tobacco products through sponsorship.

The industry's public relations response is multi-pronged. The first strategy involves connecting the industry to as many political offices as possible. This keeps the industry informed about political developments and provides a potential avenue to influence these decisions, making the fight against new health measures easier.

In cabinet, Finance Minister Paul Martin was a director at Imasco, owner of Imperial Tobacco, before entering politics. Treasury Board president Lucienne Robitaille's riding is St-Henri-Westmount, where a large Imperial Tobacco plant is located. Her campaign director and riding association president is Simon Poirer, a tobacco industry lawyer and lobbyist for the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers Council.

**In the Senate.** Liberal senator Michael Kirby and Roch Boivin were both directors at RJR-MacDonald until 1998, while Conservative senator William Kelly is chairman of the Rothmans board. Rothmans also has connections to the senior levels of the bureaucracy: Pierre Gosselin, a former deputy minister of National Revenue, and Paul Gauthier, chairman of the Security Intelligence Review Committee, both joined the board in 1998.

And then there are the party connections. One of the newer members of the Imperial caucus is Quebec lawyer Pierre Fortier, who joined the company in October, 1996, as vice-president, corporate affairs. Fortier helped Joe Clark emerge from his campaign debts after he lost the party's leadership to Brian Mulroney in 1983. He then went on to become president of the lobbying firm Public Affairs International, a Tory-connected firm that flourished under Mulroney after the Tories were decimated in the 1993 elections. Fortier helped rebuild the party and eventually became the party's national president. He stepped down from the post to take the position at Imperial.

Guy Cox, a well-known CBC journalist before becoming the press secretary for Ontario premier David Peterson from 1985 to 1989, served on the RJR-MacDonald board. Judy Brooks, a former Liberal minister of consumer and corporate affairs who left politics to become the head of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Canada, left the PMAC in 1998 and now serves on the Imasco board.

Several of Brian Mulroney's former staffers now work for tobacco companies. Former chief of staff Norman Specter is vice-president of Imperial Tobacco, and another former Mulroney chief of staff, Bernard Roy, is an Imasco director. Mulroney's former press secretary, Marie-Josée Lapointe, is communications director for the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers Council.

Big Tobacco's second strategy is to ensure that key politicians hear from them constantly. The companies have more than 20 registered lobbyists, and this figure does not include the lobbyists employed by their allies—the groups they fund, such as the Alliance for Sponsorship Freedom, as well as groups that share their lobbying platform (for example, advertising groups such as Gallop & Gallop and event organizers such as Grand Prix Management, both of which lost major revenue sources when the tobacco advertising restrictions were implemented).

Bruce Marshall is a former aide to former immigration minister Sergio Marchi and former chief of staff for the B.C. Liberal party. Liberal staffers who play on the True Grit softball team in Ottawa widely respect Marshall's determination to drive that chairman. He's never afraid of taking a ground ball on the body for the team. Fortunately for the tobacco lobby, this loyalty is for sale, and Marshall now lobbies for Imasco.

Mark Reinkens, who heads the lobby group Paxford Public

Not only has the tobacco syndicate been successful in staving off regulation of its hazardous product, it managed to engineer a \$1-billion tax cut

Affairs and is president of the lobbyists' guild, the Government Relations Institute of Canada, is a loyal lobbyist for the CTMC. He was also part of Paul Martin's inner circle in his 1990 leadership bid.

The CTMC is headed by Rob Parker, a veteran lobbyist and former Conservative MP. CTMC lobbyists include David Seidl, who worked on Joe Clark's 1998 Tory leadership bid, and Bill Neville, one of Ontario's best-known and most established lobbyists. Neville, one of Joe Clark's closest advisers, was a member of Brian Mulroney's inner circle.

Other lobbyists on the Tobacco Dream Team include Marc Lalonde, a high-level Trudeau-era cabinet minister, who later became a hired gun for Alfred Dunhill, Herb Marcilic, a Christian lobbyist and former associate director of the Liberal Party Fund, who heads the Capital Hill Group, which represents RJR-MacDonald, Jean-François Thibault, a Capital Hill Group lobbyist and former secretary of the Quebec wing of the Liberal party, Terence Wylie, head of



Canada House in London for its money, corporate sponsors get to invite guests and steer the building lease

## SPONSORSHIPS: Buying Access and Influence

**Located in London, England,** at fashionable Trafalgar Square, Canada House is responsible for the Canadian High Commission's cultural program, hosting exhibitions, concerts, performing arts presentations, literary events and film screenings. In previous incarnations, it is described as "a home away from home for Canadians abroad and an introduction to Canada for thousands of visitors."

Before Canada opened the facility in 1925, Prime Minister Mackenzie King and "Canada Inc." had been fortunate to secure what may well be regarded as the finest site in London, and being London, the finest in the world. Over the following seven decades, Canada House served diplomatic, public affairs and academic functions, and served as the

Canadian military headquarters during the Second World War.

In May, 1998, Canada House threw an extravagant gala to celebrate a \$15.5-million raise-over. The grand opening reception featured Prime Minister Chrétien, the Queen and Prince Philip, as well as 400 high-society guests, including rock star Bryan Adams, film director Atom Egoyan, supermodel Linda Evangelista, writer John Ralston Saul, and communications adviser Clarkson (now Governor General), author Michael Ignatieff, television mogul Max Moser, senior cabinet ministers Lloyd Axworthy and Sergio Marchi, as well as senior Canadian political staffers and diplomats in various countries. The invites included on cool tongue and pigeon

breast, and sipped Canadian finest wines as they schmoozed and worked the crowd.

If the party's \$250,000 price tag had been on the Canadian taxpayer's tab, there would surely have been headlines back home. So Canada House offered sponsorship opportunities to Canadian businesses. Companies jumped at the chance to be associated with such a prestigious event, as much so that the money they poured in exceeded

Canada House's expectations. Many sponsors paid between \$50,000 and \$100,000, including the

Bank of Montreal, Royal Bank, CIBC, Northern Telecom, Royal Norel Network Corp., Sun Life Assurance Co., and Canadian National Railway—all top donors to the Liberals, and all major lobbyists. Even a major Ottawa lobbyist firm, the Capital Hill Group, was a sponsor of the event. Other companies, such as Bell Canada, Air Canada and Canadian Pacific Hotels, provided services for the party. For their contributions, companies could invite guests to the gala, were given space to display their logos at related high commission functions, were mentioned in media kits, and could later rent the facilities of Canada House at reduced rates.

While the Canada House reopening in London was perhaps the most significant embassy event of recent years, other Canadian missions have similar corporate-sponsored functions. In March, 1999, Canada's consulate general in Los Angeles, former prime minister Kim Campbell, hosted a Hollywood gathering at her residence for Canadian Oscar nominees, including Norman Jewison. Guests included Hollywood stars and co-executives, but also on hand were the sponsors, including Air Canada and Rochem.

Is saving a few taxpayer dollars a more important principle of governing than maintaining integrity and impartiality? Is the government sending a positive message to the public when it makes it clear that if you have enough money you will gain access, influence and recognition? If these events are too expensive to be funded by taxpayer dollars, maybe the names of our senior government representatives are simply too rich.

the influential lobbying firm Government Policy Consultants and an Imasco director, Brian Levert, president and chief executive officer of Imasco, who was an adviser on the 1997 Liberal campaign and was a leader in the No campaign during the Quebec referendum and Jack White, who was a chief of staff for both Joe Clark and Kim Campbell and also campaign chairwoman for Jean Chrétien in the 1993 election. When they became vice-president, corporate affairs for Imasco, a position she recently left.

Through the many tools of influence it has developed, the tobacco industry has been very successful in staving off regulation of its hazardous product. If there is a way to thwart government efforts to regulate tobacco, the Tobacco Dream Team will find it, no matter how tenuous the connection or how feeble

lobbying efforts, then through its sale of high-priced tobacco.

Managed means play by different rules than the rest of us. When they don't like how the world is meeting them, they invest large sums of money in lobbyists, political advertising, and political donations to change the rules. They rely on revolving-door maneuvers to ensure that both elected officials and bureaucrats remain friendly and compliant. And, if all else fails, they use their size and influence to bully the government into giving them what they desire or to ignore their enemies.

A system that allows these abuses to occur is not clean, especially when preventive measures would be easy to implement. The abuses are simply the logical, predictable outcome of a regime that makes it almost as easy to do things under the table as to do them aboveboard. ■



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## Tech Explorer



### Water-skiing without a boat

The sales pitch goes something like this: it's a quiet summer morning, no hint of a breeze, and the lake is as flat as glass, ideal for water-skiing. But the two guys who said they would drive the boat and spot for you don't show, leaving you marooned on the disk. Enter the Solo Personal Ski Machine, a remote-controlled jet ski developed and launched last month by Solo Watersports Inc. of Bellevue, Wash. Built by Seattle-Craft Canada Inc. in Sault Ste. Marie and exported to the United States, the Solo is churning up a wake of protest over its safety among U.S. critics, and is on sale (though not in stock) in illegal in Canada. "Legislators," says Robin Sells, Watersports' vice-president of marketing, "have been trying to killish us."

Even so, he says, the \$10,000 device is legal in 40 U.S. states, and is sold through U.S. dealers and the company's Web page ([www.solo-watersports.com](http://www.solo-watersports.com)). It is powered by a 70-horsepower engine, controlled by buttons on the tow handle that start and stop the motor, adjust speed and direction, and sound a horn. Letting go of the handle kills the engine, so does a remote. A red flag on the Solo automatically pops up to signal a downed skier.

The controversy centres on whether water-skiers can see far enough ahead to avoid swimmers, divers or partially submerged logs. According to Sells, Solo's design offers "great visibility." Still, the company is now testing a bow-mounted radar system that will, when it detects an obstacle, shut off the engine, and a remote retrieval system



On the water (top); tow handle (right)

to allow a fallen skier to restart the craft. Both devices are due by September.

While buying a Solo and bringing it into Canada is legal, the Canada Shipping Act prohibits a person from being towed by a remote-controlled craft. Offenders face a \$100 fine, says Canadian Coast Guard official Jean Poiribonand. He acknowledges that with tens of thousands of lakes in Canada, many isolated, it may be difficult to catch offenders. But Poiribonand has a warning: while police can't be everywhere, they will respond to complaints from angry neighbours.

### Cool Sites

### Play ball, ya bum!

With the baseball season in progress, fans may want to break up on a few choice websites as *www.bowlbump.com*. The site often hundreds of insults—"Hup over the plate and read the directions!"—and also earns spectators. Montrealers rank last ("A bunch of no-shows. Probably because there's no hockey rink on the field"). The site often team rosters and player salaries, too—all the better to heckle with.

Darjelo Howatshko

Monday, 8:45 a.m.

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The first Canadian at the tournament since 1993: The call a week in progress

the second round to make the cut. At his first PGA championship in Chicago in August, he was tied for the lead with Woods through three rounds before faltering over the final 18 holes. Weir proceeded to win the Air Canada championship in Vancouver the next month, finished the year ranked among the top 50 players in the world, and last week sat 20th among Tour money-winner. "I'm still a work in progress," he says of his game, "but I'm pleased with how I have been playing."

This is heady stuff. Previous tour players from Canada, such as Zakl, Dave Barr and Don Haddadson, all enjoyed long careers and won tournaments, but Weir is the first Canadian male since the late George Knudson who seems capable of commanding regularly and maintaining a place among the game's elite. In a recent interview, Australian legend Peter Thompson, captain of the international team for next fall's President's Cup matches against the United States, singled out Weir as one of the rising talents on a team that is expected to include superstars such as Elk, Aussie Greg Norman and Zimbabwe's Nick Price. The reason for Thompson's enthusiasm? Among other things, Weir, when he is on, is an uncanny putter, and it is on the greens that championships are decided.

Weir can be coaxed his excitement about playing at the Masters: It is a special place for seasoned professionals as well as for fans, for whom the sights of Augusta each April, in azaleas in bloom and its fairways practically fluorescent green, has always heralded the coming of a new season. "If Mike can make it, I'd be happy to fill in," Ladies Professional Golf Association star Lorie Kne of Charleston and jokingly last week. She added: "I just hope he enjoys the experience, but the time of his life." She couldn't wait. "Unless when they call me to the tee on Thursday," Weir says. "I'll have a big smile on my face." And that smile will grow even bigger if by then there are four members of the Weir family other than three.

But Weir could be a factor. He has been a quick study in past majors, such as last July in Scotland. In his first British Open, he struggled with blustery conditions in the opening round, then adjusted and played brilliantly in

rougher parts," he said. "And every one was to win the Masters."

It would be a real surprise if he found himself putting for victory this week. Weir grew up for the tournament, Augusta National favours veterans who have learned from frustrating experience how to negotiate in slick, undulating greens. And practically everyone from British bookmakers to casual fans considers Tiger Woods the man to beat this week. The 26-year-old Californian is the hottest golfer on the planet—he has won 18 PGA Tour events in less than four years as a pro, he holds the all-time Masters scoring record and he has previously succeeded under the crushing pressure leaders face coming down the stretch at Augusta. If Woods slips, the odds-makers favour South African Ernie Els, Scotsman Colin Montgomerie, or Americans David Duval, Tom Lehman, Dana Love and surely Hal Sutton, who stared down Woods at the Players' Championship last month.

But Weir could be a factor. He has been a quick study in past majors, such as last July in Scotland. In his first British Open, he struggled with blustery conditions in the opening round, then adjusted and played brilliantly in

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## Sports

# A dream comes true

Canadian Mike Weir makes his first trip to the Masters

**Sitting at home** in Desper, Utah, Mike Weir was getting edgy. His wife, Brissa, was nearing her due date for the birth of the couple's second child, and he took last week off just in case. Their first daughter, Elle, was early when she arrived in December, 1997, and Weir was kind of hoping that history would repeat itself. Some of the suspense was already gone—he and Brissa already knew the was carrying another little girl. But he was still anxious in a quiet, fatherly way.

Of course, he would have been in a state of nervous anticipation even without a baby coming. For the first time in his career, the 29-year-old lefty from Bright's Grove, near Sierra, Ont., had qualified to play in the Masters, being held this week at fabled Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia. It is the first major championship of the 2000 season, and no other Canadian has been invited to play the event since Richard Zokol in 1993. By far the top-rated golf broadcast of the year, the Masters is the tournament Weir dreamed about when he was learning the game at Huron Oaks Golf Club in southwestern Ontario. "As a kid, on the private green, I'd be a

James Deacon

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## Education

# A tough sell on campus

Quebec students protest corporate encroachment

It was the beginning of Thomas Ingersoll's own revolutionary war. Three years ago, the American history professor at l'Université de Montréal was surprised to see several parish ads placed outside the main library. Disarmed, he lodged an informal complaint with his faculty union. "Today, hundreds of ads dot the university's washrooms and public hallways. In February, Ingersoll took the bold step of negotiating over the issue, effective this summer. "I'm a representative of this institution," says the tenured professor, "and inevitably I'm associated with these ads."

For some time, academics and students have been growing increasingly incensed about the corporate presence on Canadian campuses. But in recent months, that fury has been especially evident in Quebec. Last week, students at Concordia University in Montreal voted in favour of eliminating virtually all of the 374 ads in washrooms and on walls across campus. The advertising is sold by Montreal-based Zoom Media Inc., the same company that provides ads at Université de Montréal and about 70 other colleges and universities across Canada. And last month, students at McGill narrowly rejected a proposed agreement with Coca-Cola that would have made the soft-drink giant the exclusive cold-beverage supplier on the campus. In recent months, similar contracts have been delayed at Université du Québec à Montréal and Université Laval, and the fight has now spread to Dawson College, a Montreal CEGEP. Says Zach Dubinsky, a third-year student at McGill, "We don't want to be marketing toys, and we don't want to be part of this corporatization trend."

To date, more than 20 universities across Canada have inked exclusive deals with Pepsi, while an estimated seven have similar arrangements with

Coke. Soft-drink makers are paying top dollar for access to the coveted youth market. The McGill agreement was reportedly worth an estimated \$10 million over 11 years, with money earmarked for a \$1.5-million upgrade to the University Student Centre and to hire new faculty. Students were represented at the bargaining table, but a confidentiality agreement prevented the disclosure of any details before, during and after the campaign that led up to the vote. While the vote was not binding, McGill has agreed to kill the deal. "Everyone would have benefited," says Morry Yalovsky, McGill's vice-principal for administration and finance. "And the way we negotiated the agreement, I believe it was harmless."

Those on the 'no side' argue that the soft-drink companies already enjoy virtual monopolies on most campuses, and that universities might as well capitalize on the fact. Based on the volume of advertising, Zoom ads generated \$92,000 for the Université de Montréal last year, and about \$25,000 for Concordia. But critics counter that there is a principle at stake: schools should be neutral spaces for learning. For most of last year, students entering Ingersoll's class had to pass a large poster of a scantily clad woman blowing perfume. Says Ingersoll, "It's the abandonment of an ideal for a small piece of change."

Many applaud the tough stance being taken in Quebec. Faculty at the University of Saskatchewan are especially disappointed with the outcome of their school's 10-year contract with Coke, signed two years ago and worth a rumored \$2 million. The Arts Building, track but alone is plastered with about 45 Coke logos, mirrors history professor Michael Haydes. Last November, the company built an electronic message board at the university



Ingersoll: It's the abandonment of an ideal for a small piece of change.

entrance that periodically flashes Coke ads. "We're being buried in propaganda," says Hayden. "Everywhere you look, you'll see this at a Coke U."

Some observers say the surge of campus protest signals a new cynicism among youth towards global corporations. Last year's protest during the World Trade Organization talks in Seattle have come to symbolize that stance. Last month, students at the University of Toronto occupied president Robert Prichard's office for 10 days. Their aim, to accelerate the passage of a policy to prevent the use of sweatshop labour in producing university research and teaching. "There's a feeling of being overboarded, and they're fighting back," says Naomi Klein, author of *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. "This is the politics that is galvanizing university campuses today." And increasingly, that voice of protest is being heard.

John Schofield

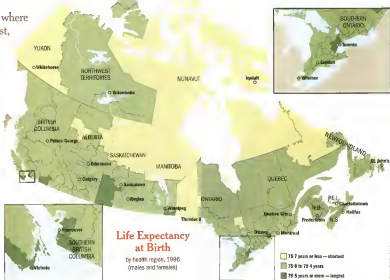
# Northern Perils

A first-ever study shows where Canadians live the longest, and shortest, lives

**Increasingly** in recent years, surveys of mortality rates and other indicators have shown Canadians in some parts of the country to be much healthier than those in other regions. Now, a federal study shows just how dramatically one key indicator—life expectancy—varies among Canadian regions. A joint study published last week by Statistics Canada and the Ottawa-based Canadian Institute for Health Information maps life-expectancy data for Canada's 136 provincial and territorial health regions. For the most part, it shows, southerners live longer than northerners, and Canadians concentrated nearby in the nation's most densely packed urban areas live the longest. Conversely, the findings paint a gloomy picture of life and death in the North—particularly in areas with large aboriginal populations.

The report, accompanied by maps depicting longevity rates in every part of the country, shows that in 1996 Canadians' average life expectancy at birth was 78.6 years (up from 73 years in 1970), with men living, on average, for 75.7 years and women for 81.4 years. Among industrialized nations, Canada ranks third in life expectancy behind Switzerland and Japan, and well ahead of the United States, which ranks eleventh. While there are sharp discrepancies in some regions, the report also shows the life expectancy for nearly 99 per cent of Canadians to be within 2.8 years of the national average.

The study shows that the 13 regions of the country where people live longest—65 for 79.5 years or longer—are mostly southern urban communities with populations between 46,000 and 850,000. They include Victoria, Vancouver,



Winnipeg, Toronto and the Ottawa-Carden region. But people also live long lives in some less-urbanized areas, including parts of southern Manitoba, a large swath of southwestern Saskatchewan and some rural districts of British Columbia. Dr. John Miller, CIHI vice-president for research and analysis, attributes the higher life expectancies in the cities mainly to higher educational and income levels and lower unemployment. The better access that city dwellers

The bleakest findings emerge from the North, with its heavy concentration of native peoples. All of the 12 health regions that the report includes in the lowest life-expectancy category—less than 75.7 years for both sexes—are in northern regions, and nine of them have large aboriginal populations. Among aboriginals, accidental injuries are the principal cause of death, but the report also points to high rates of cancer and respiratory disease in northern Quebec, with lung cancer rates among women in Nunavut 4.7 times higher than the overall rate for Canadians.

Nunavut and Nunavik, home to most of Canada's Inuit people, also record Canada's highest suicide rates among men. Among Aboriginal Peoples generally, infant mortality rates are twice as high as in the overall Canadian population, while accidental injuries are four times more common among aboriginal infants, five times higher among preschoolers and three times higher for aboriginal teenagers.

On the other hand, in the regions with the highest life expectancies, mortality rates for cancer and other common diseases, as well as suicide and infant mortality rates, are probably lower. But as Miller notes, the report points to socioeconomic factors as a major determinant of health. High life-expectancy areas, it notes, correlate with higher educational levels and lower unemployment rates. However, while acknowledging that some high-life-expectancy regions also show relatively high income levels, the report finds no consistent link between longer lives and income or housing costs across the country.

Looking further into the issue of health and income inequality, a separate study of Canadian and U.S. mortality statistics, released at the same time, concludes that higher income appears to be more closely linked to longer lives in the United States. One reason, the report suggests, Americans do not have access to the kind of publicly funded medical services generally available in Canada. That finding, at least, is a reminder of the surviving value of a health system that is increasingly under strain—economically and politically.

Mark Nichols

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## Health

# A contrarian on AIDS

Could a common herpes virus be the real villain?

Over the years, reporter Nicholas Repash has honed a hair-knuckles style of journalism and a penchant for attacking mainstream medical beliefs. A former Montreal Gazette reporter, Repash since 1993 has been a producer for ABC News in New York City and an outspoken Internet columnist on the network's Web site. He has tackled issues ranging from physician overprescription of the drug Ritalin for attention deficit disorder in children ("an epidemic of dumb doctors and child abuse") to the medical establishment's hostility to critics (challenge "the prevailing medical wisdom and expect to get shot in the knee"). In his newly published *The Virus Within*, Repash takes on the mainstream dogma that HIV causes AIDS and presents evidence that another virus, which lies dormant in most North Americans, may be the real villain. Predictably, the book has provoked a bitter counterattack: "I think Repash is the equivalent of a resister," said Mark Warburg, a Montreal AIDS researcher and president of the International AIDS Society. "There are people who will be taken in by his half-truths and may die of AIDS as a result."

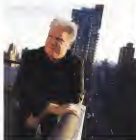
In *Virus*, Repash draws on the work of a disparate collection of researchers working on the fringes of mainstream medicine. The cast of characters includes Peter Duesberg, a microbiologist at the University of California, Berkeley, who argues that recreational drugs and the powerful anti-viral remedies used to treat AIDS in fact cause the disease, and a group of scientists in Perth, Australia, who question the existence of HIV, maintaining the

virus has never been isolated and photographed according to accepted scientific guidelines.

But the main focus is on Donald Carrigan and Konnie Knorr, Milwaukee-based researchers who in the late 1980s began studying an infectious agent called HHV-6. A member of the herpes family, HHV-6 is carried by an estimated 90 per cent of North Americans. But apart from

triggering a sometimes fatal childhood illness called roseola, HHV-6 had long been considered largely harmless. The Milwaukee researchers began uncovering unsettling evidence. Carrigan found that HHV-6 can be off dangerous infections in cancer patients who undergo bone-marrow transplants, and with Knorr, discovered evidence that the virus may be to blame for the destruction of the neuro-insulating material myelin in multiple sclerosis victims. Work by other researchers has suggested HHV-6 could be a factor in the controversial malady known as chronic fatigue syndrome.

Carrigan and Knorr, meanwhile, were



Repash's *AIDS establishment keeps scorn on his theory*

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proposing a theory that had been considered, and rejected, by researchers earlier—that HIV-6 might be a "co-factor" in AIDS, aiding and abetting HIV in the destruction of victims' immune functions. Soon, Regush relates, Kozlov was wondering, "was HIV doing any killing, or was HIV-6 the lone assassin?" But in 1997, after Corrigan and Kozlov found evidence suggesting HIV-6 might be killing alone, the British medical journal *The Lancet* rejected their paper for publication.

Ranging deeper into uncharted medical territory, Regush puts forward a theory advanced by Howard Umovici, a maverick, Berkeley-based microbiologist. Umovici theorizes some environmental toxins or viruses may be capable not only of inflicting direct damage on human bodies but of activating dormant pathogens like HIV-6. The combined assault somehow brings about a genetic "misshuffling" that creates new DNA sequences which can trigger cancer or at other times, prompt the immune system to begin attacking the body it is supposed to defend. There is a frightening possibility, claims Regush, "that a major disease lurks inside the body, waiting to erupt because of the interplay of viruses that live within us."

As Regush well knows, the theories he describes are not likely to win support in orthodox medical circles. Contradictory arguments, says Kelly MacDonald, a Toronto microbiologist who researches HIV, "may seem to make sense until you consider the weight of evidence that says HIV causes AIDS." Weinberg, who has clashed with Regush in the past over AIDS, is less diplomatic: "As far as I'm concerned," Weinberg told *Maclean's*, "Regush is a journalist who preys on a gullible public. There is no question that HIV is the cause of AIDS." Still, Regush's book may be less incendiary than Weinberg suggests, since in the end he does not make a convincing case that something other than HIV is behind the plague that has destroyed so many lives.

Mark Nichols

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# Horror in paradise

Michael Ondaatje sifts through Sri Lanka's strife

## Anil's Ghost

By Michael Ondaatje  
McClelland & Stewart, 307 pages, \$34.99

It's now eight years since Michael Ondaatje published his last novel, *The English Patient*, a tour de force of narrative storytelling, which, helped along by the 1996 movie of the same name, has achieved almost *Cole*-like levels of global penetration. The book is now available in 32 countries and 30 languages, and has elevated its Toronto-based author to that select circle of writers who are so famous abroad as at home. But while eight years may pass swiftly in the life of a working novelist, it is a long time for fans to wait for his next book. No wonder Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost* is the most anticipated Canadian novel of the year.

The main character in Ondaatje's fiction is always the setting, and in *Anil's Ghost* the 56-year-old author has returned to one of his favourites: his native island of Sri Lanka, which he has evoked in many of his poems and in his spellbinding 1982 memoir, *Running in the Family*. The story takes place during the civil war and associated rebellions that tore the country apart between the mid-'80s and early-'90s. Into this nightmare of warring death squads comes a 33-year-old forensic pathologist, Anil Tiwana. A native of Sri Lanka, he has spent 15 years away, training and working in Britain and North America. Now he has been sent home by a Geneva-based human rights group seeking to discover who is behind the epidemic of murders and kidnappings.

There's something a bit thin about this premise—a lone woman sure to poke about in one of the world's most killing grounds, where the murder room can bring on the boys with the Kalashnikov. The fact that she has

trained up with a local anthropologist hardly shores the premise. And yet the unlikelyness of the story is scarcely a drawback, for although the novel has its realistic side (for example, Anil's expense with the bones of murder victims is depicted with fascinating exactitude), Ondaatje is more at home creating dream landscapes, just as he did in *The English Patient*. In *Anil's*

craditions—whose after-effects Ondaatje evokes with such an exquisite sense of the body's fluidity. The book constantly poses the question of how such horror can happen in such idyllic surroundings; beatty, it seems, can save no one. At its heart, the vision of barbarism offered in *Anil's Ghost* is profoundly pessimistic, although it is tempered by several moving depictions of heroism.

In the novel's second half, Ondaatje's most poetic and meditative passages completely overwhelm the usual thriller-like moments, as the author moves into lengthy explorations of his characters' backgrounds. *Anil's Ghost* is, in the



The author has first novel in eight years in a wistfully return to his native country

*Ghost*, the Sri Lanka of returning urban assets and vast plantations barely appears. Instead, a mysterious atmosphere of solitude and quiet seeps—as if the entire island were enfolded in a kind of Pausanias spell, a cloud of luminous vapours and secret pools, whose monks and hermits can be glimpsed amid the ruins of ancient streets.

The novel generates much of its tension from the contrast between the romantic beauty of this setting and the violence—the shootings, rapes and

and, a scattered novel, perhaps even a novel out of control, and for this reason never achieves the mythic sophistication of *The English Patient*. But its labyrinthine is always a pleasure to follow, and in its finest passages—like the exotic, overblown, in which one of the characters, an artist, paints the eyes on a new statue of the Buddha—the book generates a mixture of wonder and high tension unique in the world of fiction.

John Burt Foster

# A hurtin' hit parade

John Cusack is superb as a rock music junkie

## High Fidelity

Directed by Stephen Frears

Now that the dust has begun to settle around *American Beauty*, here is another sharply observed film about a smart guy with a wandering eye who has a mid-life speed bump. There is a difference, however, for all those who thought that *Being John Malkovich*, rather than *American Beauty*, was the best movie of 1999, *High Fidelity* is heaven-sent. John Cusack, who starred as a romanticist puppeteer in *Malkovich*, confirms that he is one of the most intelligent actors ever to inhabit the formula of romantic comedy. Like Kevin Spacey, he delivers humor with a sure edge, but without the strangeness. And he has lots to be snug about as the co-writer, co-producer, and star of *High Fidelity*; he has delivered the best comedy so far this year.

Loosely directed by Stephen Frears, *High Fidelity* is based on the 1995 bestseller by British novelist Nick Hornby. With the book's setting changed from London to Chicago, Cusack plays Rob, a music junkie who owns a record store that specializes in obscure vinyl, and who has just been ditched by yet another girlfriend. As he tries to figure out why he can't sustain a relationship, he revisits a personal collection of his top five heartbreaks. And like a disc jockey spinning old favorites, Rob takes us through the flashback with confessionalist eloquence delivered directly to camera—a technique that works better than it should because Cusack is such an engaging presence.

He has also surrounded himself with a superb cast. Danish actress Renée Zellweger (*Thelma & Louise*) is a revelation as Laura, the self-proclaimed girlfriend Rob is trying to win back. And the comedy revolves around two music wonks with encyclopedic knowledge who work at Rob's

record store. Jack Black unleashes the explosive energy of a John Belushi in the role of Barry, a malicious know-it-all and closet musician; and Todd Louiso relieves tension as his perfectly shy sidekick, Dick.

Then there is a wealth of slyly suggested performances in minor roles. Subduing through her screen as a former fiancée of Rob's league, Catherine Zeta-Jones has a surprising edge. And as Laura's new flame, Tim Robbins anchors his role as an uncaring New Age leech. Honeyscombed with musical references and witty asides, *High Fidelity* faithfully captures the kind of guy who looks back on his past as a ge-



*Highly* (58). Cusack beelines and

reological chart of songs and bands. Rob's idea of romance is making someone a compilation tape. *High Fidelity* is not a kind of consolation, a story of love and infidelity, in music and life, but has all the right notes.

Brian D. Johnson

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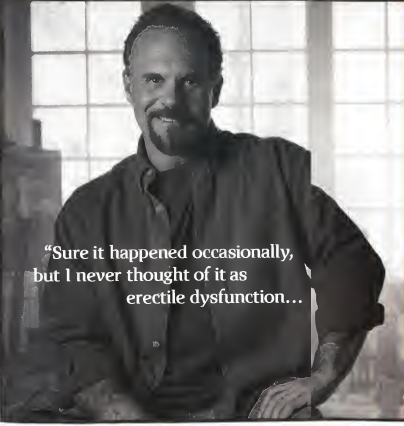
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# Canadian Cool Meets American Psycho

By Brian D. Johnson in New York City

Against a cool white background, drops of blood slowly fall through the film's opening credits. Or so it seems—until the camera pulls back to reveal that the bright red trickle is, in fact, raspberry coughs being doled over a house of duck. With that delicate sleight of hand begins *American Psycho*, a dark comedy of madness and murder based on the notorious 1991 novel by American first-lion Elia. The book, a satire that reads like a halibut marriage of Swift and de Sade, has been attacked as both shockingly pornographic and numbingly boring. It's the portrait of a Wall Street narcissist who is obsessed with fashion, status and sex—and who believes in brutality on the first date. No less an iconoclast than David Cronenberg tried to turn it into a movie. But the Canadian director, who had adapted such "unfilmable" novels as *Naked Lunch* and *Cool*, eventually gave up.

Then, along came Mary Harron. The Canadian-born filmmaker, daughter of veteran actor-broadcaster Don Harron and darling of the New York avant-garde, had made just one movie, *Wish I Was a Stud* (1990), the direct an empathetic portrait of Valerie Solanas, the frustrated artist who pulled a gun on the prince of Pop Art in 1968. *Wishful* was about a Surfer rebel who hates men; *American Psycho* is about an Eighties conformist who hates women. But both are stories of madness in Manhattan, cities of paranoid architecture unrelenting on a culture of commodity fetishism. And in making *American Psycho*, it's remarkable that Harron did not become unrelieved herself.

After the film spent two years developing the movie, her producers and Lions Gate Films were behind her back and offered *Yankee* superstar Leonardo DiCaprio the role she had already promised Christian Bale. Eventually, DiCaprio dropped out and Harron regained control of the film. Then, while shooting with Bale in Toronto last year, she had to find off grounds allegations that musician Paul Bernardo had used *American Psycho* as his bedside bible. And, more ached, she had to defend her film against censorship.

But Harron has stood up to the pressure: And her movie, the most controversial literary adaptation since Cronen-

berg's *Cool* (1996), strongly redeems the book on which it is based. Coolly evocative film's blood narrative, and leaving much of the brutality off-camera, Harron captures its satirical wit with a spare elegance. She also deftly inverts the novel's perspective, viewing its repellent protagonist, Patrick Bateman, from a feminist vantage—on a feminist supermodel of male vanity (page 80).

Meeting the maker of *American Psycho* is a little disarming. This woman, who grew up with New York's punk scene, who just said no to Leonardo and has established herself as the most fearless female director in America, now lives in the suburbs. Pregnant with her second child at the age of 47, and unable to afford a two-bedroom apartment in Manhattan, she and her family recently moved to Irvington, a sleepy little town overlooking the Hudson River in New York's upscale Westchester County.

Forty-five minutes north of Grand Central Station, selling just back runs of dead factories along the river's edge, the conservative main pulls you Irvington. Harron is waiting at the station. It's hard to miss her. Dressed in a fringed buckskin jacket, white T-shirt and blue jeans, she is eight months pregnant. She has striking blue-grey eyes and a pale freckled face that's beginning to show the fatigue of the third trimester.

Looking for a place to eat lunch, Harron leads her visitor up the main street, climbing a steep hill that has her stopping to catch her breath every couple of minutes. On this sunny spring day, Irvington looks like a piece of Norman Rockwell paradise. Her car is being scooped, andless are being pushed and well-groomed children glide down driveways on skateboard—one of them alone knows Harron over. "This place is very white," she says evenly, pointing to the mansions



Bucking Hollywood fashion, director Mary Harron puts a redeeming spin on a notorious novel

Bale (left), Harron: she has established herself as the most fearless female director in America



up the hill. "It's affable enough that there are no Leonardo man. We have to take our laundry to a neighboring village." Harron chooses a bistro with a dipper shop etched on the window. It's a far cry from the Manhattan restaurant parodied in her movie, place that serves "two-archon omelette" and "worldwide meat loaf with onion marmalade." "I don't think anyone had caught the mercantile culture the way Bale did," says Harron. "It's so obsessive-compulsive—the complexity of the food. It was one of the funniest things he did." Harron had lost an appetite for the violence. "All the way through shooting, we were dreading filming those scenes, the meals. 'They're hard to shoot and kind of depressing. Sorry.' She skirted around the brutality she adds, because 'if you're going to do bodily gore, you really need to be good at

it and have a talent to it. David Cronenberg can do horror because he has a whole vision. He's saying something with it." Cronenberg was the first director approached by *American Psycho*'s veteran producer, Edward R. Pressman. Elia scripted two drafts for Cronenberg, and Norman Snider (*Dead Ringers*) wrote a third, but the director did not find what he was looking for. "I thought it was a fantastically good book," Cronenberg told *Maxwell* last week. "I put me in a strange space that I'd never been in before. In that way, it was a little like *Cool*, although it was funnier and a little more congenial. But I did find it frustrating to think I would never be able to convey the way Bale did the existential sense of a man who sees someone come into the room with a better haircut, and why it was a better haircut, and how much it cost, and

how everybody in the room *how* it was aberrant behavior."

Lauri, Cronenberg read Harman's script and *Wishful*. He also had a connection to the project through his 28-year-old daughter, Cassandra, who was Harman's third assistant director. And he has known Mary's father as "a friend of the family" for many years—ever since Don Harman, when he was between marriages, dated Cronenberg's sister, Denise. The cool director that Mary brought to *American Psycho*, meanwhile, has a bit of the Cronenberg touch. "Certainly his handling of tone, and how you go from comedy to horror, to one I admire," she says. "It's interesting about Canada. A lot of Canadian directors make weird films. Maybe because it's such a placid country, it tends to go inside."

Although Harman is based in New York, married to an American and has lived outside Canada most of her life,

## Designer duds and deaths

### American Psycho

Directed by Mary Harron

In bringing novels to the screen, filmmakers tend to have trouble conveying the minor minutiae of a first-person narrative—getting the camera inside the author's head, so to speak. But in the case of *American Psycho*, that liability becomes an asset. What makes the Bret Easton Ellis novel so dubious—dispute the brilliance of its satirical content—is the alarming

by Christian Bale, Bateman is a Wall Street predator obsessed with power, status, whether he is dining out or murdering in "Wahopping fashion, food and fitness, for at a pointed archetype of male vanity, a man with a heart of unbroken steel."

While popping Bateman into forensic nihilism—an effect, obfuscating him—Harmon flashes out the female characters. Christy Severyn brings subtle pathos to the role of Jean, his long-suffering secretary. Cara Seymour underscores the comedy with a grimly realistic portrayal of Christine, one of his pretentious victims, while Guinevere Turner (who co-wrote the script with Harman) and Reese Witherspoon play minor roles with poignant precision. Willem Dafoe, meanwhile, flashes up irony as a detective investigating the murders.

Owing much of its style, and substance, to the pitiless cinematography of Andrew Schaul (Phil Finkel) and Christian Bente's sleek production design, the movie ticks along beautifully for a while. Later, however, as Harman sends up the violence with a heavier palette of darkness, madness and severed heads, the movie loses its balance. And in a burrows into Bateman's psychology, a mass of confused identity, it runs up against the novel's dramatic contradictions. As Bateman points out, "I simply am not there." His character is a void, his very *cal-de-see*. But that, of course, is the whole point: trapped in the living hell of his own existence, he embodies a culture that offers no exit.

R.D.J.



Bale: a style-obsessed man with a heart of unbroken steel

gusto with which the author throws himself into detailed accounts of consuming and buying women. But in adapting the book, writer-director Mary Harron, an expert in Manhattan, compares *American Psycho* from a cinematic distance that some almost, well, Canadian. The book was redolent long the movie is crappily economical. There are gritty splashes of violence, but the film's tone is closer to *Batman* than to *Tarantino*.

Harman leaves little room to identify with protagonist Patrick Bateman, either as hero or villain. Played with a deliciously amoral neutrality

Europe—first to Rome, then London. "My sister and I were the observers of whole drama," says Mary. "We spent a lot of our time in hotel lobbies watching our parents fight."

But their movie offered a cultural immersion. Mary ended up at Oxford, where she obtained a BA in English, and then moved to New York, where she stumbled into the embryonic punk movement. She wrote about it as a rock journalist and became part of the scene. "It was difficult to belong," she recalls. "You had to turn up every few days. You could feel this cultural transformation going on, that something really amazing was happening. I think I'd been looking for that my whole life. You probably only find it once. It was about a moment where it was as though."

In the 1980s, Harman began her filmmaking career directing short films and documentaries for NBC television. She finally made her long-blooming feature debut with *I Shot Andy Warhol*, which made a splash at Cannes in 1996. Two years later, she was the talk of Cannes once again, without even being there. When *Joanne Gas* announced at the 1998 festival that it had offered Leonardo DiCaprio \$23 million to star in *American Psycho*, Harman was furious. "As long as he was interested, they didn't care what I thought," she says. "I was basically off the project. They wanted me to meet with Leonardo, but I wouldn't. A lot of people thought I was crazy. I felt very isolated and vindicated with self-doubt."

But Harman was convinced that paying DiCaprio \$23 million to star in *American Psycho* would "be a waste of my career, and his—if you get the budget up that high, the film would fail, because it's not that kind of movie." After the script lost interest and ended up getting himself stuck in *The Beach*, Harman finally got to shoot *American Psycho* her way, for \$7.5 million. But it was not easy. In Toronto, studio comparisons withdrew offers to make their offices available as locations. And many companies, such as Ralph Lauren and Calvin Klein, would not allow Harman to show their brands onscreen. (Rememberably, however, she did obtain

rights to her song by Phil Collins and Huey Lewis, which Bateman pompously deconstructs while preparing to kill people.)

During the shoot, meanwhile, the local media drew an invisible link between Bateman and Ellis's novel, although neither Stephen Williams, who wrote a book on the Bateman case, pointed out that the copy of *American Psycho* found in his house belonged to Karl Hovell, that Bateman did not read, and there was no evidence it served as a blueprint for his crimes. No one ever showed up to protest on the set, says Harman. "But it upset me that the book was in the house at all."

After lunch, Harman climbs further up the hill to her house, a modest two-bedroom apartment in an old white frame house. The door is simple, with no brass or glass, except for a small abstract painting by a friend. Harman introduces her husband, de-

scribes John C. Walsh, who is almost 10 years younger. They met at the 1996 Sundance festival, where they were both promoting their first features. "We make very different kinds of movies," says Walsh, who plans to follow up *Did Not Obey* with another romantic comedy. Harman concedes that his chance of directing a box-office hit are better than hers. "I will never be very commercial," she sighs. "But your hip quotient is high," says her husband. "Yes," she agrees. "There's the hip quotient."

In some ways, Harman's life has echoed her mother's, who also raised a younger son and had two daughters two years apart. Walsh points to a framed picture that hangs above the crib of their two-year-old, Ruby. It's a confident little watercolor of Florence that Mary painted when she was 13. Walsh discovered it in drawers—an early portrait by an artist who is still discovering the world on her own terms. ■

The movie draws a fine portrait of a Wall Street narcissist who believes in butchery on the first date

"It's quite Canadian, really," the museum. "The film, more than any first one, is very much an American film. It's taken to America, and I think America is where it's going to get the hardest reception."

Born on Jan. 12, 1953, in Greenburgh, Ont., and raised in Toronto, Los Angeles, London and Rome, Harman has had an exceptionally cosmopolitan life. Her father was best known for his comic schtick as former Charlie Chaplin, but had serious acting career. Her mother, Gloria Fisher, the first of Don's three wives, is a self-styled scholar who speaks four languages. "Art is my mother's religion," says Mary. "By the time she was 14, she'd read every book in the Greenburgh library. She's a woman of the 1950s, determinedly unfeminine, but balanced. She was very against pop culture of all kinds, she wanted me to be a novelist."

Mary's parents divorced when she was 6 and living in New York. She and her sister, Martha, then 8, spent two years with their grandparents in Greenburgh. Then, in 1966, their mother got remarried, to a younger man, Hungarian-born novelist Stephen Vincent, and the Harman sisters struggled to adjust. "It was very disruptive for us," recalls Mary. "He was quite a volatile person." After the success of Vincent's *In Place of Older Women*, in 1965, their stepfather moved the family to

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# Life post-Beverly Hills 90210

Two alumni from the hit teen TV series *Beverly Hills 90210* were in the news last week—but for entirely different reasons. Jason Priestley, 36, who spent eight seasons on the show ending in 1993, was sentenced to five days in jail and three years' probation after pleading a contest to a drunk-driving charge in Los Angeles. The Vancouver native was arrested on Dec. 3, after he swopped his Porsche around a pole.

But while Priestley has had an uneven time of it post-90210, his former co-star, Hilary Swank, is on top of the world. Swank, who starred on the show for a



Swank (left), Priestley, an Oscar for her and just for him

year in 1997, won the best actress Oscar for her tragic role as a young woman who lives as a man in *Boys Don't Cry*. "It is so important," said Swank, 25, "and I'm so proud to be a part of it." Swank probably never said that about 90210.

## Video Picks

### STAR WARS: EPISODE I—THE PHANTOM MENACE (Apr. 4)

The first chapter in George Lucas's Star Wars saga follows Anakin Skywalker as he pursues his dream of becoming a Jedi knight.

### THREE KINGS (Apr. 11)

George Clooney and Mark Wahlberg star as American soldiers at the end of the Gulf War who try to retrieve a stash of stolen Kuwaiti gold.

## A marred milestone

The Canadian Opera Company is celebrating its 50th anniversary on April 6 with a gala opening of *La Bohème*—the same opera that graced the stage during the COC's first season. "How fitting that we return to it now," says COC artistic director Richard Bradshaw. As part of the anniversary celebrations, artists from the first production have been invited to the gala, including

### THE INSIDER (Apr. 21)

The real-life story of former tobacco executive Jeffrey Wigand (Russell Crowe, in an Oscar-nominated performance), who blew the whistle on big tobacco with the help of 60 Minutes producer Lowell Bergman.

### MUSIC OF THE HEART (Apr. 25)

Meryl Streep won a best actress Oscar nomination for her role in this true story of a woman who fights to teach the beauty of music to underprivileged children in Harlem.

Source: Rhapsody.com

Nicholas Gekkelashvili, who was the conductor and a founding father of the COC.

But the milestone for Canada's largest opera company is marred by the fact that it is a still without a proper venue. The COC spent three years planning a world-class opera house in downtown Toronto, but last month the Ontario government withdrew its offer



## A heartfelt love story

Scaring David Duchovny (of *X-Files* fame) and Minnie Driver, *Remember Me* is a sweet comedy about romantic destiny. Bob (Duchovny) is a recently widowed architect looking to get his life back on track, and Grace (Driver) is a waitress who has just received a new lease on life through a heart transplant. After a fateful meeting, the two start falling in love—but Grace has a secret that she is afraid will push Bob away. Set in Chicago, the film co-stars Carroll O'Connor, James Belushi and Bonnie Hunt, who also co-wrote and directed the movie.



Duchovny (left) and Driver, fated

A scene from the COC's 1994 production of *La Bohème*, gala opening

to sell the proposed site. In the process, Bradshaw is urging ticket subscribers to write to Conservative Premier Mike Harris's government on behalf of the project. Celebrations, be it not, lost sounds like the workings of a dramatic opera.

## Pop Movies

1. <i>Boys Don't Cry</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	944
2. <i>Homer Goes to College</i> (21/10)	\$12.25	194
3. <i>Academy Award</i> (21/10)	\$11.13	138
4. <i>Final Destination</i> (21/10)	\$9.99	138
5. <i>Movie in Motion</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138
6. <i>Whisper to Me</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138
7. <i>Movie in Motion</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138
8. <i>The Color Purple</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138
9. <i>The Color Purple</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138
10. <i>The Color Purple</i> (21/10)	\$14.11	138

Topgross in Canada: initial according to box office receipts during the week displayed on March 30. (Box office numbers of Canada's leading films.)  
Source: Entertainment Weekly

## Best-Sellers

Fiction	CD	Box Set
1. <i>UNRAVLED</i> (21/10)	1	1
2. <i>THE BROTHERS</i> (21/10)	2	2
3. <i>SHOOTING UP FOR THE CAPITAL</i> (21/10)	3	3
4. <i>NO GREAT VILLAINS</i> (21/10)	4	4
5. <i>DAUGHTERS OF FREEDOM</i> (21/10)	5	5
6. <i>LOVE IS A VILLAIN</i> (21/10)	6	6
7. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	7	7
8. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	8	8
9. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	9	9
10. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	10	10

Nonfiction	CD	Box Set
1. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	1	1
2. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	2	2
3. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	3	3
4. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	4	4
5. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	5	5
6. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	6	6
7. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	7	7
8. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	8	8
9. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	9	9
10. <i>THE WILD OF THE WILDERNESS</i> (21/10)	10	10

(\*) Works in kit  
Compiled by Ryan Bellini

## Havana revisited

It began life in 1997 as a Ry Cooder CD, then became an Oscar-nominated documentary in 1999. Now, the *Havana Vice Squad* Club has spawned a companion book (CDG Books), by director Wim Wenders and his wife, photographer Doreen Wenders. A foreword by the director details the movie project's 11-year odyssey. Cooder gave Wenders only a week's notice and the director reached Cuba with just a single professional camera and a three-man crew. In the main text, together with English and Spanish versions of their song lyrics, the talented Cuban musician made famous by Cooder and Wenders—Compay Segundo, Ibrahim Ferrer and Omara Portuondo among them—offer brief accounts of their early days and their thoughts on music and life. But the real stars of the book are Doreen Wenders' spectacular photographs, which include individual portraits shots of the artists and evocative images of Havana's faded glories.

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## Losing the language battle

It is seldom this scabber agrees with the separatists, but, the scabber being an honest man, must agree this one time.

The most passionate of all the separatists, Louise Beaudoin, is terribly upset at Air France's decision to make its pilots speak English to air traffic controllers at Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris.

Since Ms. Beaudoin is the *Dans Québec* international relations minister, she must command respect. The scabber respects her—as she and Premier Lucien Bouchard are visiting France this week—but she doesn't have a chance. The battle over language has been lost.

The separatists of the English language has to have a first somewhere, the famous "If France surrenders, well, just imagine us."

Well, she's right. I sympathize with her. But she's arguing against herself. If Québec with its seven million population cannot survive within Canada's 30 million, what real chance would it have as an independent nation isolated in North America's English-speaking 300 million?

There's a big problem. The business language of the world has become English. The air traffic controller language of the world has become English—for safety reasons—in even Air France has had to concede.

The poor, frustrated Ms. Beaudoin (I sympathize with her, but life is not fair) makes the argument that since the separate fact of 1979, air traffic controllers at such as Ottawa's bilingual airport have to accept the pilot's choice of French or English. And, she proudly proclaims, there hasn't been a single accident.

Anyone who actually can compare Ottawa's Mackay-McGowen airport, where sometimes there are as many as three jets parked, with the Charles de Gaulle stop, one of the busiest and most frantic airports in the world, should not be allowed to "protect"—as she promises to do—as President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson.

The problem—I wish it were not so—is that the Coca-Colaization cannot be stopped. Take to your kids. They now think, thanks to the American boob tube that dominates us, that the last letter of the alphabet is "ice."

It used to be, as anyone who travels abroad knows, that any Canadian wandering in Tibet with a Maple Leaf on a knapsack, would be greeted by a grinning, semi-literate native who would say: "Ah, Margaret Trudeau." Now, it is America's

own. Most empaneled American tourists in remote sections of the globe get the equivalent smile. "Missica Levesque?"

You can't get away from it. Ms. Beaudoin, if she didn't notice it when she was Québec's delegate-general in Paris when René Lévesque was the first pseudo-separatist premier in the 1980s, will notice how many "Le boudog" signs there are on the Champs Élysées. I don't like it either. And France's highway police have not been able to stop it.

The reason the *Bayle Wall* was toppled—aside from the considerable force of Pope John Paul II supporting trade unions in

Poland and Ronald Reagan's adulation of the arms race—was satellite TV. All those East Germans, seeing unfettered the riches of America and the rest, including West Germany—dropped the scales from their eyes.

It's the same thing that is happening to our beloved CRJC, which has been rendered irrelevant by the satellite and the Internet. You can't stop Canadians from seeing what they want to see, however stupid.

The Coca-Colaization, unfortunately, is unstoppable. The *Éléments*, by omission, have misrepresented what used to be called "our game." The National Hockey League, now renamed in each hockey of skating in Anaheim and Dallas, as it is supposed, going to cause the relaxation of Canada's "socialist" cries to probably two years—Montreal and Toronto.

In Vancouver, the hockey club is owned by a reclusive Seattle millionaire who hasn't been seen in public since Andre Earhart. The basketball team is owned by a Chicago millionaire who remains in Chicago. The Montreal Alouettes are now owned by a guy who has in New York.

In Toronto, with its penny-royal last to get a National Football League franchise, in four newspapers now put their coverage of the Canadian Football League on the back page.

Québec? When will genius Tom Rogers announce a merger agreement with cable giant Canwest Videotron, PQ deputy premier/Finance Minister Bernard Landry finally said, "the government views this merger rather positively."

Then, Don Quixote Jacques Patenaude and his Sirincho Puzos, Lucien Bouchard, chimed in and thought it was "Bassano trying to buy Montreal." Trying to fight history. It's like trying to fight the English language.

I sympathize, for once, with Ms. Beaudoin, but she's whistling in the wind.



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